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CHARLES HUGH O'CONOR, ESQ.
ALFRED T. COLLINS, ESQ., General Manager.

AUDITOR:

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, ESQ., Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street.

HEAD OFFICE—27 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 30th day of January, 1933.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1932, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£44,874 6 7
To which has to be added:—	
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	30,472 17 4
	£75,347 3 11
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of	£10,000 0 0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—	
In payment (subject to deduction of Income Tax) of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Twelve per cent. per annum	30,000 0 0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account ...	5,000 0 0
To next Account	30,347 3 11
	£75,347 3 11

In view of the general depression in agriculture, etc., and the consequent failure on the part of many farmers and traders to meet their engagements in due course, the Directors have deemed it desirable to apply the Special Reserve for Contingencies—£100,000—towards strengthening the provision for bad and doubtful debts. The Special Reserve has been transferred accordingly.

The Reserve Fund now stands at £630,000.

The Directors retiring by rotation are MR. MARTIN FRANCIS MAHONY and MR. THOMAS LEVINS MOORE. They are eligible, and offer themselves for re-election.

In accordance with the provisions of the Companies (Consolidation) Act, 1908, it will be necessary for the Shareholders to elect an Auditor for the ensuing year. MR. JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, the present Auditor, offers himself for re-election.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 13th January, 1933.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN THE IRISH FREE STATE

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1932. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.
To Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000: amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	1,382,852 4 10
„ Reserve Fund	630,000 0 0	„ Investments, viz.:—	
„ Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ...£550,000 0 0		War Loan, Irish Free State National Loans, and other Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding as per contra) ...	5,967,189 4 5
Less: Held by the Bank ... 67,194 0 0	482,806 0 0	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks, and other Securities	264,504 11 3
„ Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	12,078,891 18 9		7,614,546 0 6
„ Sundry Agents	19,411 4 5	„ Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	5,958,799 16 7
„ Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	6,439 17 5	„ Sundry Agents	5,965 3 6
„ Profit and Loss Account ... £75,347 3 11		„ Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	203,585 3 11
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0	65,347 3 11		
	£13,782,896 4 6		£13,782,896 4 6

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 31st DECEMBER, 1932.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees (£2,000), Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay	107,657 1 11	By Balance from last Account ...	30,472 17 4
„ Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000 0 0	„ Gross Profit for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, and Contingencies	152,531 8 6
„ Dividend to be paid in February, 1933, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ s. d. 30,000 0 0			
„ Bank Premises Acct. 5,000 0 0			
„ Balance to next Acct. 30,347 3 11	65,347 3 11		
	£183,004 5 10		£183,004 5 10

AUDITOR'S REPORT

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 31st December, 1932, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
DUBLIN, 13th January, 1933. Chartered Accountant. Auditor.

MARTIN F. MAHONY,
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VOL. XXII No. 85

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

MARCH 1933

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THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION

BY PATRICK CANON BOYLAN, M.A., D.D., D.LITT.

Professor of Scripture, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.
Professor of Eastern Languages, University College, Dublin.

THE proclamation by Our Holy Father the Pope of the year from Passion Sunday (2nd April) 1933 to Easter Sunday (2nd April) 1934 as a Holy Year to commemorate the death of Our Lord, has already begun to have its inevitable effect of stimulating public interest in the chronological problems of the Gospels.

It is well known to all students of Scripture that the Gospels supply very meagre information on matters of chronology. The Evangelists are so deeply absorbed in the message of Our Lord that they give little heed to its setting in the history of the Mediterranean world, or of the world generally. The simple earnestness of their faith, and their intense realisation of the importance of the Gospel have no place for the romanticism, or the psychological analysis, or the general sophistication of later profane biographers. They show no interest in the personal appearance of Christ, nor in His age or temperament. Their whole thought is concentrated on the timeless truth of the Gospel.

When there are chronological data in the Gospels they are, as a rule, such only as determine the before and after in the actual incidents narrated: in general no attempt is made to anchor the Gospel story in the stream of Roman or world history. Not even the birth of Our Lord nor the inauguration of His mission is clearly dated. It is scarcely surprising, then, that the precise date of His death is left uncertain.

Yet, in spite of their general indifference to chronology, the Gospels do, at times, incidentally give us data by which the main incidents of Our Lord's life can be put in

relation, more or less exactly, with dated events of profane history. The mission of the Baptist and that of Our Lord are inevitably brought into contact with public officials whose dates can be determined from extra-Biblical sources. Moreover, our familiarity with Jewish life and with the regulation of the Jewish liturgical year helps us also occasionally to decide, within fairly wide limits, when Our Lord did or said certain things.

In regard to the date of the Crucifixion two points are certain: (*a*) that Christ was crucified while Pontius Pilate was Procurator of Judaea, and (*b*) that the Crucifixion took place on a Friday.

There is no need to labour the proof of (*a*). It is possible to prove (*b*) from the following texts: Matt. xxvii. 62; Mk. xv. 42; Lk. xxiii. 54; John xix. 31. Practically all scholars agree that these texts fix the Crucifixion, beyond possibility of doubt, on a Friday. Very ancient Christian tradition attaching a fast to Friday (*cf. Didache, viii.*) confirms that point of view.

There is a third point (*c*) which, though not absolutely certain, is coming to be accepted by most Scripture students, viz., that Christ died on the day on which the Jews, as a people, eat the Paschal Lamb. In all discussions concerning Jewish dating there is a matter that is liable to cause much confusion. The Jews reckoned their day from evening to evening, so that an event happening after dark on what we could call the 2nd April was assigned by them to the 3rd of April. In what follows "day" and "night" are used in the familiar modern sense, and not after the fashion of ancient Judaism. The Paschal Lamb was slain, according to Jewish custom, on the 14th of the month Nisan and was eaten on the night of the 14th. The 15th Nisan (which, for the Jews, began with the night of the 14th in our sense) was the first great day of the Paschal Week and was kept as a Sabbath. Now if we had only the Synoptic Gospels (the first three Gospels), we should most likely be tempted to believe

that Our Lord and His disciples eat the legal Paschal Supper on the 14th Nisan and that Christ died on the 15th Nisan. The Synoptic account of the Last Supper is certainly intended to be a description of a Paschal Supper, and the Paschal Supper was eaten on the night of the 14th Nisan. Here, however, the Fourth Gospel comes to our help—as it often does when the Synoptists are liable to be misinterpreted.

St. John tells us (xviii. 28) that, when the Sanhedrists brought Christ to Pilate on the morning after the Last Supper, they would not enter the Procurator's residence (the Praetorium) "that they might not be defiled, but that they might eat the Pasch."[1] Now the Pasch was eaten on the night of the 14th Nisan—which, therefore, had not yet arrived.

Again John tells us (xiii. 1) that the Last Supper of Our Lord was held "on the eve of the Feast of the Pasch" (*i.e.*, on the night of the 13th Nisan). Again the Fourth Gospel (xix. 31) says of the day following the Crucifixion: "The day of that Sabbath was a great day"—evidently implying that it was at once a Sabbath day and the first day of the Paschal week (*i.e.*, the 15th Nisan, which Ex. xii. 16 (Sept.) calls a "*holy day.*" Again, the first day of the Paschal week was a day of sabbatical quiet (whether or not it actually coincided with a Sabbath). Yet the Fourth Gospel represents the Apostles at the Last Supper (xiii. 29) as conjecturing that the Betrayer had gone out to make purchases for the Feast. But if the night of the Last Supper were the 14th Nisan no commercial business or work could be done until the sunset of the 15th—and how then could the Apostles think that Judas had left the Supper Room to go shopping? The natural inference is that the Last Supper was held on the 13th of Nisan—that, in other words, the Last Supper preceded by twenty-four hours the Paschal Supper of the Jews generally.

[1] *Cf.* Mk. xiv, 12; Matt. xxvi, 17.

There is a hint of this even in the Synoptic narrative when Simon of Cyrene is represented apparently as returning from farm-work when Jesus was being led forth to Crucifixion (Lk. xxiii. 26 ; Mk. xv. 21). Furthermore the labour involved in taking Our Lord's body down from the cross and preparing it for burial[1] (Lk. xxiii. 53-56 ; Mk. xv. 45-46 ; Matt. xxvii. 59-60 ; John xix. 38-42) would have been quite unsuitable for the 15th Nisan—a day that would be in all circumstances equivalently a Sabbath. Apparently, then, the only hypothesis that will account for the data of the four Gospels is that the Last Supper, though evidently celebrated as a Paschal Supper, was celebrated on the night of the 13th Nisan. We are not concerned here to explain Our Lord's anticipation by a whole day of the National Pasch. That He did anticipate seems to be practically certain, and it thus becomes practically certain also that He died on the 14th Nisan.

The date of Our Lord's crucifixion must then be a Friday which was the 14th Nisan during the period of Pilate's rule as Procurator of Judaea.[2]

According to Josephus (*Antiquities* xviii. 42) Pilate was Procurator of Judaea for ten years and apparently left Palestine some time before the death of Tiberius, which occurred on March 16th, 37. He must have entered on his office, therefore, about the summer of 27 A.D. : he certainly was not in office at the Pasch of 37 A.D. To find the date of Our Lord's death we must, then, first ascertain how often the 14th Nisan fell on a Friday from 27 A.D. to 36 A.D. ; if that happened more than once, we shall have to select as the Crucifixion Day the par-

[1] Lagrange (Marc p. 356) points, in this connection, to the purchase of a winding sheet (Mk. xv. 46), the preparation of spices (Lk. xxiii. 56), and the carrying of arms by a disciple and the Jewish police (Mk. xiv. 47)—as indications that the Crucifixion day was not the 15th Nisan.

[2] The close of the High Priesthood of Caiaphas is not serviceable as a means of giving a *terminus ad quem* for the Crucifixion, as it is difficult to decide when Caiaphas ceased to be High Priest. The writer of a note in the London *Times* of Dec. 29, 1932, is convinced that Caiaphas was deposed at the Pasch of 34 A.D. Scholars generally date his deposition in 36 A.D.

ticular Friday Nisan 14th which best fits into the Gospel narrative.

It can be shown astronomically that Friday was the 14th Nisan, in the period in question, on the following dates of our Calendar: April 11th, 27; April 7th, 30; and April 3rd, 33.[1] One of these dates must, then, if the reasoning above is correct, be the date of the Crucifixion.

Plainly it cannot be the 11th April, 27. Pilate was in office when the Baptist began to preach (Luke iii. 1), and if Pilate's rule began in 27, there is no time available even for the Baptist's mission before the April of 27. It is, indeed, quite likely too, as has been said, that Pilate did not take up office until the early summer of 27.

April 7th, 30, has been accepted as the date of the Crucifixion by Père Lagrange and many other recent scholars. The choice between that date and the 3rd April, 33, depends largely on our view about the duration both of the Baptist's mission and of the Public Mission of Our Lord.

St Luke (iii. 1-2) dates very solemnly the beginning of the Baptist's mission: "In the 15th year of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius, when Pontius Pilate was governor of Judaea . . . . in the days of the High Priests Annas and Caiaphas the Word of God came to John, etc." Pilate, as has been said, took up his office probably about the summer of 27 A.D., and therefore the Baptist's mission cannot have begun before that year. The "fifteenth" year of Tiberius, in all probability, is calculated according to the Syrian method by St. Luke (himself a Syrian)[2] from the 1st October of the year 14 A.D. Augustus died on August 19th, 14, and apparently there was some delay before Tiberius was formally declared Emperor. His imperial rule began, it would seem, in October 14, and

[1] See *Biblica*, 1928, pp. 48-56, article by Schoch, *Christi Kreuzigung am* 14 *Nisan*; and pp. 57-77, article by Schaumberger, *Der* 14 *Nisan als Kreuzigungstag und die Synoptiker*.

[2] See a letter of Dr. Fotheringham in the London *Times* Dec. 31, 1932, in which he states that regnal years were always reckoned "from the New Year's Day of the *local* calendar."

Luke would naturally reckon the 1st October 14, as the beginning of the reign of Tiberius. The fifteenth year would be October 28 to October 29.[1] If this view is correct, the Baptist did not come forward before October 28. Lagrange regards October 1st 14, as the beginning of the *second* year of the reign of Tiberius, and he therefore makes the fifteenth year of Tiberius begin in October 27. But if, as has been held, the imperial rule of Tiberius did not begin before the 1st October 14, we must regard the fifteenth year of his rule as beginning in October 28.

Now the Fourth Gospel makes it clear that the Public Life of Our Lord included at least three Paschs (John ii. 13-23; vi. 4; xii—xx.); and before the first of these Paschs we must place a period of indefinite length in which Our Lord was baptized, tempted in the desert, etc. The Fourth Gospel makes it, therefore, imperative to ascribe at least two years and some months to the Public Life of Our Lord. Before Our Lord was baptised the Baptist had carried on missionary work for a period which cannot be precisely measured, but must have been fairly long. He had stirred the whole land by his preaching of penance, and He had gathered around Him in the Jordan Valley a band of enthusiastic disciples—some of whom were from far distant Bethsaida. It scarcely seems unreasonable to suppose that the Baptist had preached for close on a year before Our Lord came to him to be baptised. Between October 28 A.D. and the Pasch of 30 A.D. there is no possibility of getting in the mission of John and the Public Life of Our Lord.

Some Catholic exegetes, it is true, following Belser, have tried to show that Our Lord's Public Life extended

[1] The supposition put forward by certain writers that St. Luke reckons the fifteenth year from the so-called co-regency of Tiberius with Augustus, rather than from the beginning of the full imperial rule of Tiberius, is neither probable nor helpful. It is highly improbable that St. Luke, writing about 60 A.D., would have felt any interest in Tiberius as merely *Conlega imperii*, as the *Monumentum Ancyranum* styles him. Besides, there is considerable disagreement as to the date at which the "co-regency" began, and if the 15th year from the beginning of the co-regency brings us only to 26 A.D. (as many think) it cannot include the procuratorship of Pilate and cannot therefore, be the year meant by St. Luke in his solemn dating iii. 1-2.

over a single year only. Nowadays, however, this theory is rapidly passing into oblivion, and there is really no way of ignoring the three distinct Paschs of the Fourth Gospel.

Since the 7th April 30 seems to be impossible as the Crucifixion Day, we are left with April 3rd, 33 A.D., as the date of Our Lord's death. Yet, at first sight, it would seem that, while the date April 30 A.D. gives us too little time for the work of the Baptist and the mission of Our Lord, the date April 3rd, 33 A.D., gives much too long an interval, from the fifteenth year of Tiberius, for the comparatively small number of events recorded in the Gospels.

Taking two years and some months as the duration of Our Lord's public mission (according to the Fourth Gospel)[1] we get back from April 3, 33 A.D., to some date early in 31 A.D., or perhaps, in the autumn of 30 A.D., as the time of Our Lord's meeting with the Baptist. The Baptist had already begun to teach in the year October 28—October 29 A.D. We are not told when precisely in that year he began. Supposing it was in the late summer or early autumn of 29, there is no difficulty in thinking of him as preaching for something more than a year before he baptised Our Lord. Thus, if the Baptism of Our Lord took place any time in the autumn of 30, all the essential demands of the Gospel narrative would be satisfied.

In all this there is an element of mere hypothesis; but, in view of the careful structure of the Fourth Gospel, it seems better to reconstruct the historical situation as above, rather than to try to find a fourth Pasch in the Public Life of Christ.

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[1]The identification of the Feast in John v. 1, with an otherwise unmentioned Pasch is unlikely. Moreover it is held by important critics (Lagrange, Bernard, etc.) that Chapter V. of John should follow Ch VI. The "feast" in Ch. V. would then come between the miracle of the multiplication of the bread and the final Pasch of Our Lord's life, *i.e.*, it would fall within the last year of the Public Life. Bernard makes it the Pasch mentioned in Joh. vi. 4; others regard it as the Pentecost that followed that Pasch.

Certain incidental chronological data in the Gospels that may appear either to exclude or support the late dating of the Crucifixion must now be very briefly considered.

According to St. Luke (iii. 23) Our Lord was about 30 years old at the beginning of His Public Mission. Yet, if that Mission began in the autumn of 30, Our Lord must have been then at least 34 years old, for He was certainly born before the death of Herod the Great, and it is certain that Herod died in the spring of 4 B.C.[1] Yet, on the other hand, even if Our Lord had come forward in the first year of Pilate's administration (27 A.D.-28 A.D.)—and that is the earliest thinkable date of the beginning of His Mission—He would still have been certainly more than 30 years old when He began to preach. It follows from all this that St. Luke's "thirty years" is not intended to be a precise statement of Our Lord's age, but only a hint that Christ possessed, at the beginning of His Mission, that ripeness of years which was required in a Rabbi.[2] When Our Lord began to teach as a Rabbi, He was certainly thirty years old: He may have been more.

In the Fourth Gospel (ii. 19-20) there is a dialogue between Christ and the Jews in which Our Lord says: "Destroy this Shrine (*Naos*) and in three days I will raise it up." The Jews reply in a phrase which has been variously rendered:

(*a*) "In forty-six years this shrine was built."

(*b*) "For forty-six years this shrine has been in process of building."

(*c*) "This shrine was built forty-six years ago."

The dialogue in question took place during Christ's visit

[1] See Josephus, *Ant.* xvii. 8, 1; *Bell. Jud.* i. 33, 8. Herod was an invalid for some time before his death: he died at Jericho. Apparently the Magi found him, while he was still comparatively robust, at Jerusalem; so that their arrival must be dated at latest in 5 B.C. If the two years referred to in Herod's order concerning the male children of Bethlehem are to be regarded as a hint of the Divine Infant's age, Our Lord must have been born at latest in 7 B.C.

[2] *Cf.* Nos. iv. 2; I Chron. xxiii. 3.

to Jerusalem at the first Pasch of His public life—some months, therefore, after the beginning of His Mission. The rendering (*a*) would imply that the building-work had ceased, and that forty-six years were required to construct the Shrine as it stands; (*b*) implies that the building was begun forty-six years ago, and is still going on; (*c*) indicates that the *Naos* was completed forty-six years ago.

Father Power, S.J., in an acutely reasoned article in *Biblica* (1928, pp. 258-277)[1] has sought to show that (*c*) is the correct rendering, and that the reference is to the central Temple-building, the *Naos* as distinguished from the *Hieron* (= complex of Temple buildings), which (according to Fr. Power) was begun by Herod the Great in March 18 B.C. and completed in July 17 B.C. Reckoning 46 years from July 17 B.C. we arrive at July 30 A.D. as the approximate date of the dialogue in question and, therefore, of the first Pasch of the Public Life. Father Power's explanation of John ii. 19-20, if accepted as correct, would show, at all events, that Christ did not die in April 30. But it is probable that the words of the Jews are intended only to make a contrast between the long time needed to build the *Naos* (here = *Hieron*) and the three days in which Jesus guarantees to raise it up, if destroyed. There would be little point in referring to building-work finished 46 years ago. Moreover, the date at which Herod began to build the *Naos* may have been 20 B.C. or 19 B.C. rather than 18 B.C.

The rendering (*b*) is not supported by the grammar.

We are left, then, with (*a*), and we are thus merely informed that forty-six years had been spent in building the *Naos* as it stands, and that building work is no longer going on. If we accept Father Power's figures, the sense will be that work on the Temple ceased about the summer of 30 A.D. If we accept 19 or 20 as the date at which

[1] The article is entitled, "John ii. 20 and the date of the Crucifixion." It advocates April 33, A.D. as the date of the Crucifixion.

Herod began to build (see Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 11, 1), we can get back to 28 A.D. or 27 A.D. as the date at which the work of building ceased; and it is possible that that cessation was due to Pilate's demands on the public purse to improve the water-supply of Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 3, 2) soon after his arrival in Judaea. It was not until 39 A.D. that work was resumed on the Temple, so that the Jews' words in John ii. 20 could have been spoken at any time between 27 A.D. and 39 A.D. They are, therefore, of little positive value in determining any date of Our Lord's Public Life; and they certainly cannot be used as an argument against the dating of the Crucifixion in April 33 A.D.

Support for the late dating of the Crucifixion has been sought in the words spoken by the Jews to Christ at the Feast of Tabernacles in the year before He died (John viii. 56): "Thou art not yet fifty years old, and has Abraham seen thee (or, hast thou seen Abraham)?" If Christ had not been close to middle age when these words were spoken, it is argued, they would be pointless. Irenaeus seems to have inferred from the passage that Jesus was nearly fifty when He died (*Adv. Haer.* ii. xxii. 6). If Christ was Crucified in 33 A.D., He must have been at least 37, and may very well have been 39 years old at His death; and His appearance in the autumn of 32 A.D. might well have suggested the thought expressed by the Jews in Joh. viii. 56.

Scholars who put the conversion of St. Paul as early as 33 A.D. (on the basis of Gal. i. 18; ii. 1) cannot, of course, admit that Our Lord died in 33. A fairly considerable development must have taken place in the Church of Jerusalem between the Ascension and the conversion of St. Paul; and the events narrated in Acts i. 15-viii. 40 seem to demand a period of about two years. The chronological scheme of Acts and Galatians, however, in no wise excludes the placing of St. Paul's conversion in 35 A.D.; so that no real objection to the

late dating of the Crucifixion can be derived from the history of St. Paul.

The repudiation by Herod Antipas of his wife—who was a daughter of the Nabatean King, Aretas—and his incestuous and adulterous union with Herodias were the occasion of a denunciation pronounced by the Baptist against the Galilean Tetrarch and of John's imprisonment and death. The defeat of Herod by Aretas in a frontier war fought in 36 A.D. was regarded popularly as a punishment inflicted on Herod for his execution of the Baptist. Now, if the Baptist's death took place in 31, the popular estimate of Herod's defeat in 36 would be intelligible: if we must put John's death two years earlier than 31, the judgment of the people on the events of 36 becomes extraordinary. Here again, therefore, the later dating of the Crucifixion seems to be supported by the course of Palestinian history.

It is clear that a theory, in itself so reasonable and well founded as that which regards April 3, 33 A.D. as the day of the Crucifixion, must gain enormously in prestige by the direct support of Our Holy Father; and it is possible that the quasi-official determination of the date of the first Easter Sunday, which is implied in the Sovereign Pontiff's attitude, may lead to further consideration of the question of a relatively fixed Easter.

P. Boylan

THE ADVENTURES OF BISHOP EDMUND O'DWYER, 1641–1654

BY SIR MICHAEL F. O'DWYER, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

THE career of Bishop Edmund O'Dwyer is in itself a romance of adventure ; it also throws much light on the divisions of Irish parties during the Great Rebellion and on the influences of the Catholic Powers and the Papacy on the course of events.

Edmund O'Dwyer, who was born about 1590, was nearly related to the Kilnamanagh Chiefs of Tipperary, Dermot O'Dwyer (1593-1629) and Philip O'Dwyer (1629-1648), and was therefore connected with the powerful Ormond family with whom the Kilnamanagh Chiefs had often intermarried. This fact helps to explain his opposition to the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini, and his support of the Ormond party down to 1649, when he joined in the denunciation of Ormond's later policy.

Like most other Irish of good family destined for the priesthood, he was sent abroad for his education. He began his studies at Rouen, then passed on to the Sorbonne at Paris, and completed them at the University of Rheims, where he graduated as doctor of divinity. On his return to Tipperary he devoted himself to missionary work in the diocese of Emly with such success that he was promoted to the office of Archdeacon in 1621. Some years later, in 1632, the Archbishop of Tuam (Dr. O'Queely, with whom O'Dwyer had formed a life-long friendship at the Sorbonne), the Archbishop of Cashel and their suffragan bishops appointed him as their Procurator or representative at the Papal Court.

For the next ten years Dr. O'Dwyer lived in Rome. In 1635 the whole Irish hierarchy made a representation to the Vatican to have an agent accredited to it to make

known their needs and wishes and to communicate to them the instructions of the Holy See. Dr. O'Dwyer was selected for this responsible position, which brought him into close contact with Father Luke Wadding, who, as the Guardian of the Irish Franciscan College at Rome and a man eminent for his learning, wielded great influence in Papal circles.

At the end of 1641 the Civil War began in Ireland. Dermot O'Dwyer, a brother of Edmund O'Dwyer, was "constrained to leave England" and went to Paris, whence he carried on an interesting correspondence with his brother in Rome and elsewhere. Writing on February 15, 1642,[1] he says: "I have no news from home, but that some of the Kilnamanaghnacs (O'Dwyer clansmen) were killed at Holy Cross by the [Protestant] Archbishop of Cashel's troop."

The Irish Confederation at this time asked for material aid from the Pope, Urban VIII, in their struggle for religion and liberty. The Pope wisely decided to get direct information as to the scope and aims of the movement before he committed himself to any action. On the recommendation of Wadding, Dr. O'Dwyer was dispatched to Ireland with secret instructions. Meantime two distinguished Irish commanders in Flanders, Owen Roe O'Neill and Preston, were eager to start with many Irish officers and men in the French and Spanish service for the seat of war directly they could obtain funds, munitions and shipping either from Rome or from Richelieu.

On March 4th 1642, Dr. O'Dwyer, on his way to Ireland, writes from Avignon to Luke Wadding at Rome: "The Nuncio (at Paris) gave orders for me to come hither, and told me that Richelieu would secretly permit help being sent to our country." On March 5th Father Hugh Burke, who was nearly related to some of the leading Irish nobles and held the office of Head of the Irish Friars

[1] See *Franciscan MSS.* for the correspondence of 1642-43.

Minor in Germany and Flanders, writes from Brussels to Wadding urging that the Pope should help *now* to equip Owen Roe and Preston. "If they wait till Dr. O'Dwyer sends news from our own country, I fear that our prospects must succumb, unless the troubles of England afford them relief." He adds that he is going to the Hague to see the Queen of England and learn the intentions of the King.

Meantime Dr. O'Dwyer was on his way to Paris; but the Papal Nuncio there, who apparently resented his "Mission" as an encroachment on his own position, threw obstacles in his way. Hugh Burke, too, was none too well-disposed. Writing to Wadding on March 15th he says: "I trust he [O'Dwyer] will accomplish his mission to the satisfaction of our country, though it would have been possible to pitch on someone more in favour with the [Irish] lords."

On March 21st O'Dwyer received his final instructions from the Nuncio, and writes to Wadding at Rome that he is leaving next day for Nantes, "where many of our country's Colonels and Captains are already departed" (for Ireland). He concludes: "I am departing to-morrow with two Irish Captains who know me not, and I give myself a counterfeit name."

On March 22nd Luke Wadding from Rome replies to Hugh Burke, explaining the Pope's difficulties in Italy. "Besides which His Holiness is a prudent Prince and has no certain knowledge of conditions in Ireland." However, he notes that the Pope has sent 10,000 crowns to equip Owen Roe and Preston. Regarding Burke's doubt of O'Dwyer's fitness Wadding says: "Your Paternity knows in what honour he is held and how great his prudence, knowledge, etc."

On April 1st O'Dwyer reports to Wadding at Rome his arrival at Crosicke in Brittany; that he is sailing on a French barque to Waterford with two Irish Captains (over eighty having gone on ahead): that the English

Ambassador at Paris endeavoured to stop their sailing as they were going to help the Irish rebels, but the Cardinal (Richelieu) took no notice; so the Ambassador is now trying to get them intercepted at sea.

He *was* intercepted, though not by a British ship. Three days out, two Moorish men-of-war (perhaps pirates who were infesting the seas in those years) swooped down on the French barque and made prisoners of all on board. Dr. O'Dwyer was kept in irons for three weeks and then sold as a slave at Salé in Morocco. But his star had not yet set. Within a few weeks a kindly Huguenot merchant of La Rochelle purchased him for £40 on a promise of receiving £60 for his ransom, and brought him to La Rochelle at the end of August, keeping him on parole there pending payment of the ransom.

During those four months there was much anxious speculation as to his fate in Paris, Rome and Brussels. Burke from Brussels writes to Wadding at Rome on May 17th: "I tremble for Dr. O'Dwyer. . . . I trust that nothing has been confided to him from Rome, for he is a gentleman more valiant than discreet, and it behoves us to be very careful whom we trust in this age." In the meantime the Irish Rebellion received a great stimulus from the arrival of Owen Roe in Ulster and Preston in Leinster with money, men and munitions.

From the beginning the Irish leaders, while taking up arms to defend their religion and property, professed their loyalty to the King and were eager to get His Majesty's recognition. It was for this purpose that Burke obtained an audience with the Queen (Henrietta Maria) at the Hague. He writes to Wadding (May 10, 1642):—

> I have conferred with the Queen. Her disposition is good, but not unmixed. . . . She has few or none about her to guide her in weighty matters. . . . Of one thing she assured me, that the King has no inclination whatever to the Catholic faith, that he holds the Irish Catholics to be rebels and that his mind is made never to concede them absolute liberty of conscience in such wise that the ecclesiastics shall be reinstated in the sees and benefices which

the Protestants hold in Ireland. She told me the only way to accommodate matters will be to send ambassadors to the King from the Catholics with modest demands not amounting to the entire and public restoration of the Catholic religion. . . . I replied that it was rather late in the day to counsel Catholics to content themselves with secret after they had tasted the sweetness of public liberty of conscience; in antiquity, power and wealth they knew themselves to be superior to the Scots, who by insurrection had won from the King absolute liberty of conscience, such as their conscience is, and that as the father of Her Majesty, Henry IV, had said the kingdom of France was well worth a mass, the kingdom of Ireland was well worth a franchise so legitimate and well-founded. The Queen said she would do all she could, but despaired of obtaining absolute liberty of conscience from him (the King) because (1) he is a zealous heretic, (2) fear of a general rebellion in England and Scotland.

The Queen's statement represents clearly the difficulties of Charles in meeting the Irish demands in May, 1642. Later on, when his position in England became more insecure, he sent Glamorgan, behind the back of the Lord Lieutenant, Ormond, to negotiate direct with the Irish leaders on the basis of granting their demands for full religious liberty subject to their supporting his cause with 12,000 men. But with his usual duplicity he afterwards repudiated Glamorgan.

To return to Dr. O'Dwyer. His Huguenot liberator had brought him back to La Rochelle at the end of August, and he writes thence to Luke Wadding at Rome describing his capture. He also gives news of Owen Roe's arrival in Ireland and of the dispatch thither of further reinforcements from La Rochelle. The Nuncio at Paris, when appealed to for the ransom, showed little zeal in the matter, and Dermot O'Dwyer writes from Paris on September 6th to Luke Wadding at Rome to obtain the good offices of the Cardinal Protector, as his brother is eager, after the ransom is paid, to push on to Ireland from Nantes with a batch of Irish officers and soldiers.

On September 15th Dr. O'Dwyer writes from La Rochelle to Wadding on the same lines, and incidentally

mentions that " the Turks, as a sea captain reports, have here some sixty ships and daily carry off English and Scots like cattle." He solicits fresh orders from the Nuncio to proceed to Ireland with all speed, as the publication of the Papal Briefs committed to him will kindle the souls of Catholics. He concludes pathetically that, owing to the delay, his purchaser " has become anathema to all his brethren because of me whom, as also the day and hour he recognised me, he curses, and did it rest with him I should pay the last farthing in bonds."

The Nuncio's coldness wrings from him the comment: " Now I understand by the Nuncio his letter, he doth intend by persuasion of some envious fellows at Paris to break my neck," by suggesting to Rome that O'Dwyer had let the object of his mission to Ireland get known. He concludes: " I have not a farthing, but already indebted £12 sterling by reason I had not a stitch on my back when I came hither but old rags." In giving his latest news from Ireland he says his friend the Archbishop of Tuam (who was killed leading the attack on Sligo in 1648) is the only bishop soldier in the country. " If all other things fail, I can have a soldier's pay; maybe it would be the easiest way to heaven." The learned doctor of divinity had clearly all the qualities of a soldier.

On September 21st, again writing to Wadding, he harps on the uselessness of the agents bringing news from Ireland—" a game that should be stopped "—and describes the departure of Irish Colonels and Captains for Galway from St. Sebastian and St. Malo, including that fine soldier Hugh O'Neill, who later put up such a brave defence against Cromwell at Clonmel and, with O'Dwyer's active assistance, against Ireton at Limerick. On October 15th, while still awaiting news of his ransom, he writes to Wadding :—

Hither come daily out of Spain, Portugal, Flanders, etc., soldiers (Irish) poor and nakedly furnished. I am begging for them

among our merchants some little relief—they are ready to suffer any misery in the hope they might arrive to help their friends (in Ireland) soon. I am here expecting what orders shall be there (at Rome) taken about me. . . . My dispatches (from the Pope) are very necessary at home (Ireland) to decide all contrary opinions there ; some alleging His Holiness is unwilling to declare our cause just and necessary, although they say this against their own conscience and opinion. The greatest forces we have against us are our own Catholic soldiers and nobility.

At this stage, however, the Pope declared himself ; for on October 17th he sent through Wadding the Papal benediction and a plenary indulgence to Owen Roe and to his followers.

While detained at La Rochelle, O'Dwyer appears to have succeeded in obtaining reliable news from Ireland. On October 29th he writes to Wadding giving a poor account of the common folk in Ireland as " without courage or heart. Our gentlemen only excepted, who in all places do suffer some loss by the cowardice of the common folk—no harbours in Ireland are open to us but Wexford and Duncannon." There are, he says, great difficulties in obtaining French shipping, and he also fears that the cattle in Ireland will be all eaten up " by the English or our own men."

About this time, November 26th, the Archbishop of Tuam, O'Dwyer's patron and one of the leaders in the Catholic Confederation, writes from the Irish headquarters at Kilkenny to Wadding at Rome :—

I do much fear that Dr. O'Dwyer's troubles occasioned that Your Paternity received no word of what intelligence I wrote to you since the beginning of our commotion in Ireland. I leave it to the Rev. Father [O'Dwyer] and Father Hugh Bourke to acquaint you with the state of this realm and with the decisions of the National Assembly at Kilkenny from 24 October to 21 November. . . . We await with impatience for the Pope's approval of this and hope he will grant it on receiving our letters to be presented through you, who is constituted our agent in Rome as Father Hugh Burke is in Flanders and Dr. Edward Tyrell and others in France and Spain.

Meantime Cardinal Richelieu, the French Chancellor, died and there was some doubt, as shown in Dermot O'Dwyer's letters from Paris, whether Cardinal Mazarin, his successor, would favour the Irish movement. France was willing to help secretly, but stood in fear of English sea-power. Spain, weakened by the secession of Portugal, a revolt in Catalonia and the interminable war against France in Flanders, was anxious to retain the good-will of England. Even the Pope was more willing to give moral than material support; while the Nuncio at Paris (Cardinal Grimaldi) threw obstacles in the way not only of O'Dwyer but of General Preston. O'Dwyer's letter of 11th December to Wadding shows his usual shrewd insight into Irish affairs. "Great news from Ireland. Owen Roe and Phelim (O'Neill) doing well. Preston (in Leinster) and Barry (in Munster) nothing to purpose. Whose fault it is I know not." The fact was that Ormond's clever diplomacy paralysed the actions of those commanders, also the jealousy between Owen Roe and Preston.

While still eating his heart out at La Rochelle, O'Dwyer was refused the renewal of his mission to Ireland, and writes that the Nuncio would be better pleased to send him back to Morewacke (Morocco), ending with the words: "from the Nuncio I hope no goodness." Eventually, late in December, the ransom was paid by the Nuncio, and O'Dwyer was advised by Wadding to return to Rome. His last hope of going to Ireland as Papal envoy thus vanished, and he expresses his natural chagrin to Wadding in his last letter, dated 25th December, from La Rochelle:—

> And truly for me I will no longer live on hopes, and will first go home [to Ireland] and there ajustate (*sic*) myself for returning [to Rome] or staying there as I find . . . . and for me I have lived there [in Rome] long enough, shifting how to live with honour, which now I do not know how to do. I will away hence as soon as I can, and your Reverence shall hear of me wheresoever I live. . . . Tribulations upon tribulations annexed to my ribs. I am not

able to write so much to another beside your reverence, being much weakened these four weeks [by the tertian ague brought on by his captivity among the Moors].

At this time, a year after the outbreak of the rebellion, the position in Ireland is described in Owen Roe's letter of December 29th (1642) from Kilkenny to Wadding :—

I found my poor province of Ulster in great straits. They have made me Governor and Captain General [of the Ulster forces]. Had I delayed the least longer with the little succour that I brought, there had not been five months hence an Irishman in all the north. But thanks be to God, with my advent matters have mended a little . . . . I am writing to His Holiness touching a matter so momentous for the uplift of our holy faith, and I beseech your reverend Paternity to give him to understand how little wealth we have here, so that if he be not the source of our consolation and help, great indeed is our peril.

The matter of a Papal envoy with the Confederate Irish was disposed of on April 18th, 1643, when Cardinal Barberini (nephew of Urban VIII) wrote to—

" Thomas Preston, General of Leinster,
Owen Roe O'Neill, General of Ulster,
James Tucket (Earl of Castlehaven), General of Horse,
Gerald Barry, General of Munster,
John Bourke, General of Connaught,"

announcing the appointment of Father Pietro Francisco Scarampi as Papal delegate to Ireland. The Supreme Council at Kilkenny now obtained recognition from the Catholic Powers, and a little later Hugh Burke was sent as their envoy to Spain.

Dr. O'Dwyer returned to his native land early in 1643 after ten years' absence. But his ability and force of character marked him out as a man to be used in the crisis. The Supreme Council at Kilkenny employed him on important affairs, till his old friend Luke Wadding at Rome asked them to send O'Dwyer or some other competent person to help him in furthering Irish interests. Dr. O'Dwyer was accordingly sent by the Council to

Rome with dispatches, including a recommendation that he should be appointed coadjutor to the aged Bishop of Limerick with the right of succession.

The year 1644 saw O'Dwyer back in Rome. On 4th December, 1644, Father Otter Fagan writes from Paris to the Supreme Council at Kilkenny : " Dr. Dwyer returned me from Rome your letter directed to the Lord Nuncius in this Court, which I preferred him to-day and he received with cheerfulness " (Ormond Letters). Urban VIII died that year and was succeeded by Innocent X. On 6 February, 1645, the new Pontiff appointed Dr. O'Dwyer coadjutor Bishop of Limerick. A few months later he was consecrated in the Church of St. Lazare at Paris. There he came into touch with St. Vincent de Paul, with whom he maintained very close relations and whose help was of great value to him later in reorganising the religious affairs of his diocese.

By this time the progress of the Confederate Catholics in Ireland justified the Pope in sending a Nuncio to represent him. Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, a gifted but not over-discreet Italian, was selected for the post. It was the irony of fate that in October O'Dwyer set sail for Ireland from La Rochelle and that he should accompany the new Nuncio, with whom, as with the Nuncio at Paris in 1642, his relations were later to become so strained. The two arrived in December in Limerick, where the Nuncio had a royal reception. From there the Nuncio passed on to Kilkenny, which remained his headquarters till, owing to differences of opinion with the Supreme Council, he was compelled to return to Italy in 1649. Dr. O'Dwyer assumed his new duties as coadjutor, and soon after by the death of Dr. Arthur he became Bishop of Limerick.

Some writers of this highly controversial period, notably the author of the *Aphorismical Discovery*, persistently attack Dr. O'Dwyer and certain other bishops and archbishops—including Tuam and Cashel—for

supporting the Ormond or royalist party in the Supreme Council (of which O'Dwyer soon became a member) against the more national and Catholic party headed by the Nuncio and Owen Roe. It is even suggested that Dr. O'Dwyer was recommended to Rome by the Ormond party, so that his appointment as bishop might strengthen their position. This charge is amply refuted by Archdeacon Lynch in his *Lives of the Irish Bishops* :—

As to Edmund O'Dwyer, he learned knowledge in Paris, prudence and business habits in Rome, piety in both cities. He was an accomplished Greek and Latin scholar, a graceful poet, a subtle philosopher and a deep divine. Rome knew his worth not by hearsay, but, if I may say so, by eyesight. He was promoted to the episcopacy, *not through the recommendation of friends, but through personal merit;* for his superiors knew thoroughly his excellent gifts, his habits of study and his piety. On his return home he laboured hard for his flock, and was the first to introduce the Fathers of the Mission (St. Vincent de Paul's) into Ireland for the instruction and edification of the young, and for the correction and reformation of the old. Having distinguished himself by his prudence in the government of his diocese, he was elected a member of the Supreme Council of State, and when the Confederation was broken up he withdrew to his own city of Limerick, and there during a long siege encouraged the people to resist the enemy. When at length the city was driven to surrender, his persecutors would not spare his life nor suffer him to escape. Putting on therefore the knapsack of a soldier, he passed quietly through the gates, withdrew from the city, and made his way to Belgium, having suffered all but the bloody death of a martyr.

It is almost impossible to unravel the tangle of parties after the Nuncio appeared at Kilkenny in 1645. But the Confederation soon split up into two opposing parties. These are well described in Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*. The object of the more moderate party (he says) was to gain liberty of religion ; they had no desire to throw off allegiance to the Crown, and they put themselves under Preston (the Leinster General). "The fiercer and more savage party (the Ulster leaders)

never meant to return to allegiance, and wanted (in addition to freedom of religion) the recovery of all the estates forfeited from themselves or their ancestors for treason and rebellion. These marched under Owen Roe." Clarendon contrasts Owen Roe and Preston thus :—

> Both generals of the Irish nation ; the one (Preston) of English extraction through many descents ; the other purely Irish and of the family of Tyrone ; both bred in the wars of Flanders, and both eminent commanders there and of a perpetual jealousy of each other ; the one (Preston) of the more frank and open nature, the other (O'Neill) darker, less polite and the wiser man ; but both of them then at the head of more numerous armies apart [separately] than all the King's power could bring in the field against either of them.

Unfortunately they could not join together. The Nuncio from the start threw all his influence on the side of the Ulster party and Owen Roe, whose brilliant victory over the Parliament's forces at Benburb in June 1646 was the greatest Irish success throughout the war. Bishop O'Dwyer, though in 1642 he had rightly contrasted Owen Roe's military vigour with the supineness of Preston and Barry, at first allied himself with them and the Ormond party in the Supreme Council. Among other reasons for this course there was (1) the fact that the head of the O'Dwyer sept, Philip of Dundrum, also a Member of the Council, was nearly related (like many of the Irish leaders, Lords Muskerry, Dunboyne, Mountgarret, etc.) to Ormond, who was also the Lord Palatine of Tipperary ; (2) that Philip's brother, Lt.-Col. Donogh O'Dwyer (hanged in Cashel in November 1652) had his commission from Ormond for whom he raised a regiment ; (3) that a more distinguished soldier of the sept, Lt.-Col. Edmund O'Dwyer, had command of the royalist forces, five regiments, in Waterford and Tipperary ; and (4) that, as Clarendon points out, the object of these (and of the southern Irish generally) was to remain in allegiance to the Crown, provided they obtained security for their estates and reasonable freedom of religion. These they

hoped to obtain—though the event proved them to be wrong—through Ormond's great influence in Ireland and his enjoying the special confidence of the King.

The author of the *Aphorismical Discovery*, a violent supporter of the Nuncio and the Ulster party, vehemently attacks by name "(Lord) Muskerry, the Bishop of Limerick, Edmund O'Dwyer, my lords Roche, Ikerrin, Killumalogue, Dunboyne, Castle-Connell" and several others for opposing the clergy's demands and supporting the Ormond party in the peace of 1646. The Nuncio's party denounced this peace, and the Nuncio, backed by a majority of the bishops, excommunicated the Commissioners who had arranged it. Meantime the Ormond party had taken steps to have the peace publicly proclaimed in all towns and cities. This led to serious disorders in Limerick, Bishop O'Dwyer being absent. The crowd, incited by some of the clergy, attacked and deposed the Mayor who wished to make the proclamation, assaulted the King of Arms and his Sergeant, and appointed the stalwart Dominic Fanning as Mayor.

This breach was composed with some difficulty. But a more serious one appeared two years later, when after Ormond had left the country and the Confederate Cause was waning, the Supreme Council entered into negotiations with Inchiquin, who had already changed sides half-a-dozen times, as Rinuccini remarks, and had made himself infamous by the massacre in 1647 of hundreds, including many clergy, who had taken refuge in the Cathedral of Cashel after the capture of the city. The Supreme Council however decided that Inchiquin's support at this critical stage outweighed his previous record. The Archbishop of Tuam and Dr. O'Dwyer were among those who subscribed to the instructions to the Commissioners who were to treat with Inchiquin. It was found later that the articles of the truce would make the anti-Catholic Inchiquin all powerful in Munster. The Nuncio and a majority of the bishops, including

Tuam and Limerick, denounced the articles and, as in 1646, delegated authority to proceed, if necessary, to censure and excommunication of those who should adhere to the articles, including the Supreme Council. The order was issued on 27 May, 1648. The Supreme Council retaliated by proclaiming Owen Roe, who supported the Nuncio, a traitor and calling on the Nuncio to leave the country. The whole country was rent in two; even the bishops were divided, seventeen supporting the Nuncio's action; eight, including O'Dwyer, opposing it.

This led to another tumult in Limerick city. On the 4 June 1648 the censures of the Nuncio and his fellow delegates were published there and were observed till Dr. O'Dwyer arrived from Kilkenny on 12th. After consultation with the clergy, he addressed two letters to the Nuncio, one from himself alone, another from himself and the leading clergy, including the heads of religious orders, asking for the suspension of the censures. The Nuncio replied, exhorting the clergy to imitate the precedent of 1646 and warning the bishop that publication should not be deferred, as they were intended as a remedy for the people and it did not rest with the bishop to hold them up. Dr. O'Dwyer, however (according to Canon Begley's *History of the Diocese of Limerick*), defied the Nuncio s authority, "boldly opened the Cathedral door which had been shut (in his absence) by the Vicar General and celebrated as it suited him, with great scandal to the good people who abhorred his conduct." Later, however (11th November), the Nuncio writes in his Diary: "All the clergy of Limerick having asked, it was considered worthy to have it [the interdict] taken away."

Dr. O'Dwyer thus triumphed, but it is not surprising to find him adversely criticised by the Nuncio:—

> It is now eighteen months since, to my great astonishment and the astonishment of everyone, he joined the Ormond faction, and every time an English law comes into conflict with the laws of Rome, he shows but little gratitude for the benefits he has

received from the Holy See ; and he has reaped the reward of his conduct, since he has incurred the universal hatred of the other (Ulster) party, and is looked upon as eccentric and as separated from the rest of the clergy.

But to do the Bishop justice, he did not hesitate to join in the denunciation of Ormond and his policy when both were proved to be hostile to Irish interests. Ormond returned to Ireland as Viceroy in September, 1648, and the Nuncio left soon after. Ormond now had the support of the Supreme Council and later even of Owen Roe. But he threw away his opportunities, was ignominiously defeated by Jones (the Parliamentary General) at Rathmines, antagonised the Catholic party by leaning to their two most bitter opponents, Inchiquin and Broghill (both double deserters), and by replacing Catholic officers by Protestants and Presbyterians.

Cromwell had landed in Dublin in August 1649 ; Owen Roe died a few months later, who if he had lived might, according to Napoleon, have changed the fortune of the war and the fate of nations. Cromwell carried all before him. In these circumstances the archbishops, bishops and clergy of Ireland voiced the general distrust of Ormond in a " Declaration (dated 12 August 1650) against the continuance of His Majesty's authority in the person of the Marquis of Ormond," whom they charged with the " misgovernment of the subject, the ill-condition of His Majesty's army, and the violation of the articles of the peace "—giving details under each charge. Dr. O'Dwyer was one of the signatories. Ormond gave up his office to the Catholic Earl of Clanricarde and left Ireland in December 1650, to join Charles II in exile.

Ormond in his last letter to the King before leaving admits that hitherto Limerick and Galway—the last two Irish strongholds against Cromwell—had refused to receive his garrisons from mistrust of him founded on Inchiquin's supposed power over him. Inchiquin, he admits, is generally hated ; but Ormond is not prepared

to get rid of him and prefers to leave and says that when he is gone, Limerick and Galway " will admit garrisons which—of whatever party—will keep up the struggle." He left in December 1650 from the same port as the Nuncio had sailed a year earlier. Both had failed; the Nuncio in his endeavour to establish Catholic ascendancy in a kingdom predominantly Catholic; Ormond in his attempt to establish the monarchy on the basis of Protestant ascendancy. The breach between the two men and the two policies let in the Cromwellians and the Regicides, and Ormond (when, after the Restoration, he returned as Viceroy) threw all his weight on their side and turned the cold shoulder to the expropriated Catholics, who had lost all in the King's cause.

Limerick admitted a garrison under the gallant Hugh O'Neill—nephew of Owen Roe—who had put up such an heroic resistance in Clonmel. In the prolonged siege of Limerick during the latter half of 1651, Bishop O'Dwyer and his brother, Father Philip O'Dwyer, played a great part in encouraging the resistance to Ireton, while his kinsman, Colonel Edmund O'Dwyer, in the surrounding country continued to harass the besiegers and cut off their supplies till driven off by superior Cromwellian forces under Lord Broghill, on whom Ormond had placed such reliance! When in November the besieged were being decimated by plague and a traitorous section in the city advocated surrender, Bishops O'Dwyer and O'Brien (of Emly) denounced the proposals, and even threatened to excommunicate those responsible for them. But as Carte remarks, " those censures had been played with too lightly, and had now lost their effect."

The treachery of Colonel Fennell,[1] whom Hugh O'Neill wished to courtmartial but who was supported by the Mayor, enabled him to get possession of St. John's Gate, turn the guns on the city and thus compel the surrender. The garrison and citizens were given honourable terms

[1] Fennell was afterwards hanged by the Cromwellians.

by Ireton; but seventeen leading men, responsible for the protracted resistance, were exempted from pardon. Among them were Hugh O'Neill, Bishops O'Dwyer and O'Brien, Father Philip O'Dwyer and Stritch, the Mayor, who had delivered the keys to Fennell.

The Bishop of Emly, the Mayor and ten others were at once hanged without trial by Ireton's orders. In revenge for his losses at Clonmel, Ireton was also most eager to hang Hugh O'Neill, but after a third court-martial he had to yield to the representations of his officers, Ludlow and others. O'Neill went as a prisoner to the Tower in the same ship that conveyed the corpse of Ireton, who died at Limerick of the plague. Philip O'Dwyer escaped the gallows by dying of the plague before the surrender. Bishop O'Dwyer, disguised as a common soldier, marched with the Irish garrison out of the city gates, joined Lord Muskerry in the final stand in Kerry, and when Ross Castle was taken by Ludlow, again made his escape and, with a price of £300 on his head, finally reached Brussels.

The diocesan history tells us that in Brussels Bishop O'Dwyer lived a quiet and retired life till his death in 1654, when " he was interred in the Church of Condeberge, on the 7 April 1654, not without some opposition from his countrymen, who sought in vain to deprive him of Christian burial because of his disobedience to the Nuncio."[1] As a man Edmund O'Dwyer was " sans peur " ; whether as a priest and a bishop he was " sans reproche " it is not for me to say. At any rate, it is a remarkable coincidence that 250 years later another Bishop O'Dwyer, of the same stock and in the same see of Limerick, should have been distinguished by similar qualities.

M. F. O'Dwyer

[1] The Commonwealth authorities believed Bishop O'Dwyer to be still alive in 1655 and early in 1656 (Cf. Thurloe Papers, Vol. iv, pp. 446-7) ; but they probably confused him with one of the many other O'Dwyers still trying to raise a forlorn hope at home and abroad.

ADOLF HITLER

BY PROFESSOR DANIEL A. BINCHY, M.A., PH.D.
Irish Minister to Germany, 1929-1932

I FIRST saw Hitler on a murky November evening in 1921. A Bavarian fellow-student in the University of Munich had induced me to accompany him to a meeting of what he described as "a new freak party" in the Bürgerbräukeller. The hall was not quite full, the audience seemed to be drawn from the poorest of the poor —the "down and outs" of the city: indeed, except for a sprinkling of obvious ex-soldiers, I might well have believed myself assisting at a continuation of a Communist meeting which I had attended in a neighbouring hall a few nights previously. Hitler was the principal speaker, and as he sat on a platform waiting for the very prosy chairman to conclude, I remember wondering idly if it would be possible to find a more commonplace-looking man. His countenance was opaque, his complexion pasty, his hair plastered down with some glistening unguent, and—as if to accentuate the impression of insignificance—he wore a carefully docked "toothbrush" moustache. I felt willing to bet that in private life he was a plumber: a whispered query to my friend brought the information that he was a housepainter.

He rose to speak, and after a few minutes I had forgotten all about his insignificant exterior. Here was a born natural orator. He began slowly, almost hesitatingly, stumbling over the construction of his sentences, correcting his dialect pronunciation. Then all at once he seemed to take fire. His voice rose victorious over falterings, his eyes blazed with conviction, his whole body became an instrument of rude eloquence. As his exaltation increased, his voice rose almost to a scream, his gesticulation became a wild pantomime, and I noticed traces of foam at the

corners of his mouth. He spoke so quickly and in such a pronounced dialect that I had great difficulty in following him, but the same phrases kept recurring all through his address like motifs in a symphony: the Marxist traitors, the criminals who caused the Revolution, the German army which was stabbed in the back, and—most insistent of all—the Jews. There were some interruptions, and I gathered from Hitler's attempts to deal with them that he was utterly devoid of humour.[1] But there could be no doubt of his ascendancy over the vast majority of the audience. His purple passages were greeted with roars of applause, and when finally he sank back exhausted into his chair, there was a scene of hysterical enthusiasm which baffles description. As we left the meeting my friend asked me what I thought of this new party leader. With all the arrogance of twenty-one I replied: "A harmless lunatic with the gift of oratory." I can still hear his retort: "No lunatic with the gift of oratory is harmless."

I saw Hitler again nine years later at a meeting in the Sportpalast in Berlin to celebrate the success of his party in the general election of September 1930. I found little change in his appearance beyond a marked increase in his waist-line: "the twentieth century Siegfried," as one of his followers called him, had developed a very unheroic *embonpoint.* In his speech I found no change at all. Allowing for the altered place and circumstances, it was substantially the same address which I had heard in the Bürgerbräukeller. There were the same denunciations, the same digressions—and the same enthusiasm. At the conclusion of his speech the vast throng cheered itself hoarse. The obscure housepainter was now the leader of the second largest party in Germany. In the interval which has since elapsed, he has gone from strength to strength, and to-day he is Chancellor of the Reich. One may well ask: what manner of man is this?

[1] I have since learned that not even his warmest admirers claim for him a sense of humour.

There are several books in several languages which purport to answer this question.[1] The prophet himself has contributed one of them, written during his enforced retirement in the fortress of Landsberg after the Munich Putsch of November, 1923.[2] It would be interesting to know how many of his followers have really waded through the two volumes of *Mein Kampf*: I strongly suspect that among the true believers the so-called " bible of National Socialism " is—as was said of Klopstock's *Messias*—" more admired than read." It certainly has given more ammunition to Hitler's enemies than to his friends, and any unprejudiced outsider who has the patience to finish the work is bound to conclude that its author is a self-educated man of very limited intelligence. Written in a maddeningly wooden style, in which hackneyed *clichés* alternate with windy rhetoric, full of rambling digressions and hysterical denunciations, it affords no insight whatever into Hitler's own life and development. Anything he tells us about himself is merely introduced as a peg on which to hang some political or ethnological dissertation. Commonplaces of history, politics and sociology are paraded as new and epoch-making discoveries; long-discarded theories are rescued from the lumber rooms of science and enunciated with all the pompous omniscience of a village schoolmaster. At times one is almost disarmed by the author's *naiveté*; occasionally, too, one meets a gem of entirely unconscious humour. But for the most part the book makes sad reading, and anyone who has even attempted the task

[1] Ever since the elections of 1930 there has been an unceasing stream of literature about the National Socialists and their leader. I can only mention here a few works which have appeared recently.

Adolf Hitler, Das Werden einer Volksbewegung, by Philipp Bouhler (Lübeck, 1932, Coleman); *Adolf Hitler*, by Johann van Leers (Leipzig, 1932, Kittler Verlag) two uncritical biographies written by wholehearted admirers.

Hitler, by Emil Lengyel (London, 1932, Routledge): an amusing, but somewhat cheap polemic, which dismisses its subject as an eloquent charlatan.

Le National Socialisme. Vers le Troisième Reich, by René Laurent (Paris, 1932, Hachette): a sober account of Hitler and his movement, the objectivity of which is somewhat marred by the author's prejudice against Germans of all parties.

[2] *Mein Kampf*, by Adolf Hitler (Munich, 1925, Verlag Franz Eher).

will readily understand why Hitler exalts the spoken over the written word.

This so-called " autobiography " contributes very little to our knowledge of Hitler's life and previous history. Accordingly it will be necessary to supplement the information which it gives from other sources.

Adolf Hitler was born on April 20, 1889, in Braunau on the Inn, a village in Upper Austria, close to the Bavarian frontier. His father was a typical Austrian *petit fonctionnaire*, a customs official who had worked his way from grinding poverty up to what he considered a post of eminent respectability. His one ambition was that young Adolf should also serve the King-Emperor, if possible in a more exalted capacity ; but the boy had other ideas, and a serious conflict between father and son was only averted by the sudden death of the older Hitler when Adolf was just fourteen years old. Two years later he lost his mother also. Of her he tells us practically nothing (whereas he has much to say about his father), and this strange silence lends colour to the statement of his political opponents that she was a Bohemian of Czech nationality, who up to her dying day could only speak broken German. Certainly this man, who claims to represent " all that is best and purest in the German race," is neither in appearance nor in character a typical German.[1] Yet, so strange is the psychology of the masses, this whispered story of his half-foreign parentage seems to have increased rather than hampered his prestige.

The modest family savings barely sufficed to pay the expenses of his mother's last illness and funeral, and a few days later young Hitler took the train for Vienna, carrying his entire fortune of fifty gulden in a leather wallet. What was to be his career ? The few years he had spent at a *Realschule* near Linz had been utterly wasted,

[1] Professor von Gruber, the Munich anthropologist, who is a strong Nationalist (though not of the Hitlerite persuasion), described him in 1926 as follows : " Face and skull reveal racial inferiority. Obviously he is a product of cross-breeding." Cf. Lengyel, *op. cit.*, p. 237, where other equally unflattering opinions are cited.

either because (as Hitler says) he was too high spirited to learn anything except what interested him, or because (his enemies' version) he was too stupid to learn anything at all. His great ambition was to become an artist or an architect, and he believed that he had a marked talent for sketching. This belief was not shared, however, by the examiners of the Vienna Academy of Art (were they, perhaps, Jews ?), who rejected his candidature for admission. The fifty gulden, a respectable sum in Braunau on the Inn, were quickly spent in Vienna, and Hitler had to abandon his artistic ambitions and seek work as an unskilled labourer. For four years he belonged to the poorest stratum of the Viennese proletariat, living in grinding poverty, frequently unemployed, always unhappy. Yet they were not wasted years, for during them he obtained that insight into the social problem and the psychology of the proletariat which has since stood him and his movement in good stead. He was not popular with his fellows : they thought him haughty and distant, and his refusal to join a Socialist Trade Union cost him more than one job. Thus, isolated from the society of his kind, he passed a lonely, cheerless adolescence, growing more introspective every day. Problems of all kinds—social, political, religious —began to obsess him, and in quest of their solutions he read feverishly and without much discernment everything that came into his hands. During his periods of unemployment he haunted the public libraries ; while he was working, he often sat up most of the night reading by candle light (his economical landlady having turned off the gas) some cheap edition, the purchase of which had cost him his supper. There is something pathetic in the picture of the friendless lad of eighteen, weak with hunger and blind with sleep, building up his *Weltanschauung* on haphazard, half-digested reading. For, he tells us proudly, his complete philosophy of life was formed during this period, and since then he has found " nothing to subtract from and little to add to it." How different from Mussolini,

to whom his admirers would fain compare him ! Mussolini was for years a convinced socialist and internationalist : far from striving to conceal his changes of views, he glories in proclaiming them. To Hitler, on the other hand, consistency is a fetish : he is quite willing to admit that he has learned nothing since the age of eighteen in return for the privilege of being styled " constant as the Northern Star."

Nowadays we are too prone to think of pre-war Vienna in terms of a Strauss operette. But cheek by jowl with all the elegance and gaiety there flourished a social misery unparalleled in any other European capital. In the slums all the races of the heterogeneous Habsburg Empire were represented, and their incessant quarrellings with one another were but a mirror of the larger political squabble, which menaced the continuance of the Dual Monarchy. Hitler had always regarded himself, however questionable his right to do so, as a thorough German : for the rabble of " lesser breeds " which surrounded him he had nothing but contempt. More than this, he believed that the policy of the Court was to " de-Germanise " Austria by relegating to the background the German element which had hitherto run the Empire, or at least its Austrian half. Hence his first political conviction was hatred of the Habsburg house. To him Germany was the true fatherland, and he looked forward to the day when Bismarck's Reich would abandon the alliance with the " treacherous Habsburg " and absorb the " separated " Germans of Austria in a greater German Empire. Incidentally, he forgets to thank the group of Jews, freemasons and financiers who (he tells us) engineered the world war against Germany, for bringing this ideal appreciably nearer to realisation.

Holding such views, it was natural that Hitler should first be attracted to the Pan-German party of Austria, then led by Georg von Schoenerer. But he soon discovered that this movement, while revolutionary from the national standpoint, was conservative to the point of reaction in

social policy. Strange though it may seem, he was much more impressed by a leader in the opposite camp, Dr. Karl Lueger, Mayor of Vienna and head of the Christian Social party of Austria.[1] Despite his detestation of the strictly Austrian policy of the Christian Socialists, Hitler had the greatest admiration for their chief. The two great merits which he ascribes to Lueger are his strong social sense and his anti-Semitism. Here was a man who (unlike the Pan-Germans) could reach the masses and had a programme to uplift them, a man who could fight Marxian Socialism on its own ground with its own weapons and beat it. Further, he had correctly diagnosed the evil from which society was suffering—the forces of Jewry. But Hitler's attitude to the Jewish problem, which I shall have to discuss presently, is utterly different from that of Lueger, and the parallel which he draws between the latter and himself is fantastic. Lueger was not a professional anti-Semite : his opposition to the Jews was neither racial nor religious, but was exclusively due to the obstacles which Jewish financial concerns, aided by the Jewish press, sought to place in the way of his social reforms.

In April of 1912 Hitler, now aged twenty-three, shook the dust of Vienna from his feet and came to live in Munich, where he set up as a housepainter and decorator. Here, for the first time in his life, he tells us, he felt " at home," and to this day he has continued to reside in the Bavarian capital, " the best city in Germany "—probably the only preference which he shares with the present writer. But it was just as difficult to make a living " at home " as it had been in " the putrefying Habsburg Babel." It was even more difficult to secure an audience for the schemes for the regeneration of the fatherland with which his head was humming, and accordingly the outbreak of the world war found Hitler poor and unknown—

—not even a *Prophet im kleinen Kreise*. The war he hailed

[1] For an account of Lueger (1844-1910) and his political and social achievements, see STUDIES, Sept., 1914, and June, 1915.

with joy and thankfulness as a sign that "the days of heroism were not yet over," as he had been inclined to fear. Scorning to wear the Habsburg uniform, he enlisted by permission of King Ludwig III in the Sixteenth Bavarian Regiment. Hitler fought bravely throughout the war, but not more bravely than thousands of other Germans (and Jews for that matter) whom he now denounces as traitors because they support "the parties of the Revolution." It is characteristic of his book that it should tell us practically nothing of his own personal experiences during those terrible years when, "a human cypher," he faced death constantly: the author is too busy explaining the shortcomings of the Kaiser's government and contrasting their inefficiency with the clever propaganda of the Allies. Of himself he has merely time to mention that he was promoted lance-corporal early in 1915, received the Iron Cross, was wounded in October, 1916, and invalided home to Germany, where he was horrified at the "defeatism" of Berlin and Munich. In March, 1917, he returned to the Western Front, and about a month before the armistice he was practically blinded by an English gas attack. In the little hospital of Pasewalk, in Pomerania, Lance-Corporal Hitler, still compelled to wear a bandage over his eyes, received tidings of the Revolution. Perhaps the only moving passage in his long book is the description of this scene: the old Protestant rector telling the news in faltering accents and the half-blind soldier, unable to hear it out, rushing from the room to weep for the first time since his parents died.[1]

On that day, he tells us, he decided to enter politics. But which party was he to join? Back in Munich, with his sight restored, he weighed all parties in the balance and found them wanting. By pure chance he attended one evening a meeting of the newly formed German Labour Party (*Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*), the total membership of

[1] Quite characteristically Hitler does his best to spoil the effect of this simple narrative by appending five pages of hysterical rhetoric.

which was six, and while totally disapproving of its "bourgeois" methods, Hitler consented to be enrolled as the seventh member. As might have been expected, Number Seven soon radically transformed the programme and procedure of the party—not without grave internal dissensions, in the course of which the majority of the six founders resigned. He also changed its name to the "National Socialist Labour Party of Germany" and gave it the challenging flag which has since become so familiar. The use of the adjective "Socialist" and the adoption of red as the basic colour of the flag were designed to emphasise the break with the tradition of bourgeois nationalism and to bid for the support of the proletariat. But the latter showed no inclination to hearken to the new gospel, and the average attendance at Hitler's meetings for most of the year 1919 did not exceed twenty. But his genius for propaganda in time bore fruit. The flaming red posters, designed by Hitler himself, with the swastika symbol at each corner and the intriguing notice, "Jews not admitted" (*Juden ist der Zutritt verboten*), were well calculated to arouse interest or curiosity. Gradually the meetings grew larger and the party received swarms of new recruits, mostly ex-soldiers who found themselves out of sympathy with all the older parties. Their presence was useful in the times that followed. The Munich Communists, realising that the new movement was sufficiently like their own to become a possible competitor, decided to attend *en masse* and break up a meeting advertised for January 17, 1920. Hitler had expected, indeed hoped for this development, and had organised a strong bodyguard to meet it. For the first time since the Revolution the Communists were publicly routed and compelled to fly for their lives. The result was more publicity and more recruits. At a mass meeting in the Hofbräuhaus on February 24, the party programme was submitted to an audience of two thousand and adopted with enthusiasm. Hitler had found his platform.

The subsequent fortunes of the National Socialist party cannot be recounted in this article. Even the party programme does not concern us here except in so far as it bears the impress of Hitler's *Weltanschauung* as formulated in his writings and speeches. To unravel his political theories from the masses of rhetoric which envelop them and to present them in some coherent form is indeed a formidable task, but one which cannot be shirked.

Hitler's study of history—one may be pardoned for wondering about its extent—has convinced him that the chief lesson to be learned from it is the vital importance of preserving racial purity. The destruction of great empires and civilisations may be always traced to some contamination of the ruling race with inferior foreign blood. Among the races of mankind history shows one to have been predominant over all others in war, politics, morality and culture: the Aryan race. But here we meet a difficulty. Hitler does not seem to know the meaning of the word Aryan: indeed he is not even sure of the meaning which he himself intends to attach to it. Sometimes he uses it to denote the western branches of the Indo-European race (a sense in which it is never used) as opposed to the Semites—and the Hindus! But on the very next page he speaks of Slavs, Latins, and other members of the western Indo-European stock as "inferior races," denying them the august title of Aryan. The latter is usually reserved for the peoples of Germanic race, or, to use the phrase made fashionable by pseudo-ethnologists of the last century, the "Nordic" peoples. The Nordic race is the flower of humanity, the *Herrenvolk*, born to rule the world. But being few in numbers compared with the swarms of "lesser breeds" which surround it, it can only hope to retain its leadership of civilisation by jealously preserving its racial purity from foreign intermixture. In this task the German people have a special responsibility; for Germany is the largest Nordic country in Europe and apparently possesses the Nordic virtues in

special degree. The theory is by no means new : it counted adherents in Germany long before Hitler was heard of and, ironically enough, its chief apostles were two foreigners : the Frenchman Gobineau[1] and the Englishman Houston Stewart Chamberlain.[2] The latter's influence is manifest in Hitler's ethnological dissertations, and I should not be surprised if his reading on the subject has been confined to Chamberlain's *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*. That this extreme theory has been refuted a thousandfold by history it is hardly necessary to state. Hitler may possibly believe it ; his more intelligent followers certainly do not. They merely use it as a cloak to cover their crude anti-Semitism.

For anti-Semitism is the chief practical consequence which Hitler deduces from his theory. The greatest danger to racial purity comes from the Jews. They are the parasites of humanity, the leeches which batten upon the noble Nordic blood. They are united in " one increasing purpose " : the destruction of the superiority of the Nordic peoples and particularly of Germany. To secure this aim they are willing to adopt any and every device. Some of the devices with which Hitler credits them are more than passing strange : indeed they seem to be self-contradictory. Thus they are at once the leaders of international capital and of the Bolsheviks who seek to destroy it. They are equally responsible for the curse of parliamentary government and for the dictatorship of the proletariat which has abolished it. In Germany they dominate both the Social Democrats and their sworn enemies the Communists. The pages which Hitler devotes to the exposure of " the Jewish conspiracy " against Germany teem with similar absurdities. But his followers are mainly interested in his practical measures for defeating the conspiracy. They are at once simple and attractive :

[1] Count Joseph Arthur Gobineau (1816-1882) : *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (1853).

[2] Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1926) : *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1890).

confiscation of all Jewish capital and landed property, suppression of the Jewish press, withdrawal of citizenship and all public positions from Jews. The policy is clever in that it appeals to the lowest instincts of the mob, its jealousy and cupidity, while cloaking them over with the "racial" argument. No impartial observer will deny that the Jewish problem is more complicated in Germany than elsewhere, but to make this a pretext for advocating wholesale robbery is hardly consonant with those high Nordic virtues of which Hitler purports to be a shining example. Yet Gottfried Feder, the party "economist," is probably right in declaring that "anti-Semitism is the foundation of our movement."

But the expropriation of the Jews does not exhaust the State's duties towards the sacred principle of racial purity. Indeed, the very *raison d'être* of the state is the preservation and development of the race. The worth of the state is to be tested, not by its form of government, but by the "ruthless energy" with which it repels the enemies of the race and fulfils the other conditions under which Nordic stock may flourish. It matters little whether the state calls itself republic or monarchy: Hitler has no sympathy with the Monarchist Conservatives, and some of his choicest abuse has been hurled at the very leaders of Junker nationalism who now constitute the majority of his colleagues in the Cabinet. But there are certain baneful institutions, invented by the Jews, which, being essentially alien to the Nordic temperament, cannot be tolerated. Chief among them is Parliamentary democracy.[1] Apparently our text-books err in attributing this institution to the genius of the Anglo-Saxon race, for Hitler declares it to be utterly un-Nordic: for the old Germanic conception of personal leadership and individual responsibility it substitutes government by counting heads. The most successful of modern demagogues has a profound contempt

[1] In the recent political history of Germany nothing has been more amusing than the sudden emergence of the Nazis as the champions of parliamentary control against the Papen and Schleicher governments.

for the majority upon which he exercises his unrivalled powers of agitation: it is stupid, volatile, treacherous. Hitler believes rather in the aristocratic principle, not indeed as expressed by the "Judaised" nobility of pre-war Germany, but by an aristocracy of character. From this the "natural leaders" of the people are to be drawn, who, scorning the subterfuges of representative government, will answer personally for their actions. To whom they must answer we are not told.

The "natural leaders" of the Nordic state have not merely to maintain but also to improve the race. To secure this, drastic measures must be adopted. Hitler does not go as far as some of his friends, for example Alfred Rosenberg, editor of the party's official organ the *Völkischer Beobachter*, who seeks to atone for his Jewish name by exceeding all others in anti-Semitism. Rosenberg advocates the sterilisation of all Jews and defective Nordics, the recognition of a "limited" polygamy, and even, if necessary, the establishment of what one can only describe as human stud farms. Hitler's own programme is more modest. He would forbid all marriages of pure Germans with Jews. For the rest, he would have those who are racially pure and physically sound unite with their peers at about the age of eighteen, so that they may produce a numerous and healthy stock. But what of those Nordics who, while racially above suspicion, are either corporally or mentally unfitted to have vigorous offspring? Hitler would give the state power to effect the sterilisation of such persons, assuming that they cannot be induced to serve the paramount interests of the race by voluntarily renouncing marriage. In this all-important matter his youthful followers, looking for guidance to the leader himself, must be somewhat bewildered: Hitler did not marry at eighteen, and even to-day, at the age of forty-three, he is still a bachelor.

To secure that every healthy German youth will be in a position to marry and found a family, it is necessary to

revolutionise the existing social order. The capitalist system, a Jewish invention, must be replaced by a state-regulated economy which will accord equal opportunities to every pure German. Hitler is convinced—and herein lies the real strength of his movement—that there can be no racial and national regeneration of Germany until the claims of the proletariat have been fully satisfied. His quarrel with Marxian Socialism is not that it is Socialist, but that it is internationalist and pacifist. It has degraded and denationalised the German worker : witness its " stab in the back " in 1918 just when Germany was about to win the war (our military histories are also in need of revision). In its place must be established a Germanic socialism, a national socialism, under which the exploitation of the Nordic workman will cease. How far this new brand of socialism differs from the orthodox type I do not propose to discuss here, for Hitler does not even profess any knowledge of economics and is content to leave the formulation of the party's economic policy to others. Or perhaps the silence of the prophet is calculated. The masses can only be won by a socialist programme, but the party funds are largely dependent on " big business."[1] In order that the latter may not be scared, it is useful to be able to represent the extreme doctrines of Feder or Rosenberg as " unofficial." This is one of the most difficult parts of Hitler's tasks, and its difficulties will be increased a thousandfold when he is forced to put his economic programme into action.[2]

Perhaps even more difficult is the religious question. Hitler's parents were pious Catholics (he even informs us that his earliest ambition was to be a priest), but his book

[1] Lengyel (*op. cit.*, chap. xiv.) has collected some interesting statistics about the financing of the Nazis by German captains of industry, and believes that the latter have been privately reassured by Hitler that the party's " socialism " need not be taken too literally.

[2] Under the Papen and Schleicher governments, Hitler's tendency was to emphasise the proletarian character of his movement against the " feudalist reactionaries." He even gave his blessing to a strike of Berlin Municipal workers organised by Nazis and Communists jointly last November. It will be interesting to watch his attitude now that he is to govern along with the " feudalist reactionaries."

shows clearly that personally he is no longer a *croyant*. Yet he has resolutely set his face against any attempt to use his movement in the interests of a new *Kulturkampf*, and has unsparingly denounced the introduction of "confessional differences" into the party. The various "racist" movements of which National Socialism is the successor had all a strong anti-Catholic, sometimes even an anti-Christian bias. Hitler has tried hard to exorcise this spirit, but only with limited success. He has proclaimed that the party favours a "positive Christianity," without declaring in favour of either Catholicism or Lutheranism. He has dissociated himself from the crazy religious speculations of his editor-in-chief, Rosenberg. He has broken with the racists *strictioris observantiae* led by General Ludendorf, who seek to replace Christianity by the old Germanic cult and who now (amusingly enough) denounce Hitler as a "serf of Rome." The condemnation of his movement by the German episcopate he seeks to explain as due exclusively to the machinations of the Centre Party. There is no doubt that, while he must know that the Church will never accept the unchristian implications of his racist theories, he is desperately anxious to avoid an open breach. Not so his more extreme followers, led by the notorious Goebbels (himself an ex-Catholic), who daily bespatter the Church and the episcopate with the vilest abuse. As a result, Hitler finds himself losing ground in all the Catholic parts of Germany [1]: the vast army of new recruits is composed of either Protestants or dissidents. He makes no secret of his concern at this development: even if his study of history be as slight as I suspect, he must realise that the Church has faced and beaten greater movements than his.

A considerable portion of Hitler's book is devoted to questions of foreign policy. His criticisms of the Imperial government's sins in the pre-war period may be dismissed

[1] Thus his adopted city, Munich, the cradle of his movement, now gives him less votes than any of the other large cities. Already there are demands from some quarters for "a bold anti-Roman front."

as wisdom after the event; and in any case the clumsy Machiavellism which he propounds as an alternative policy would have neither averted the war nor won it for Germany. Of more practical interest are his proposals for the future. A firm believer in the inevitability, nay even the desirability of war, he is concerned to find suitable allies for Germany, and as a *Realpolitiker* he would seek them among those nations which, for their own reasons, are opposed to the present hegemony of France. England, another Nordic country, would be the most desirable ally, and as the price of its friendship Germany should definitely consent to abandon her colonies and the policy of naval and colonial expansion. But England is traditionally cautious; and besides, the Jews are high in its counsels: no doubt they were responsible for the frosty reception accorded to Herr Rosenberg during his unofficial "mission" last year. Italy, though racially inferior, offers brighter prospects. The admiration felt for Mussolini by Hitler and his followers and the sympathy extended to the Nazis in the Fascist press encourage hopes of close co-operation. The price which Hitler is prepared to pay for this is heavy: the final abandonment of Southern Tyrol, the home of Walther von der Vogelweid, perhaps the fairest of all German-speaking lands. But most remarkable of all is Hitler's attitude towards the Soviet. Far from entertaining any idea of alliance with Russia, he looks forward to its complete disintegration as the signal to resume the old Germanic policy of pushing eastward. By forcible colonisation at Russia's expense, Germany may hope to gain more territory than she has lost by the Treaty of Versailles and to solve the problem of her surplus population, acute enough under present circumstances, but destined to become infinitely more so under Hitler's schemes for early marriages. With marked emphasis he declares that the new movement is not committed to the restoration of Germany's pre-war frontiers in so far as they included territories, such as

Alsace-Lorraine, where the race was not predominantly German. But then why provide for another war with France? Is it to be fought merely for the purpose of demonstrating Nordic superiority?

The reader who has had the patience to follow this summary of Hitler's doctrines may well ask—does young Germany really take him seriously? It is sometimes stated that he is a mere puppet managed by clever men, that he is only the loud-speaker of the party apparatus. Personally I have seen no evidence of this. On the contrary, I believe that Hitler's influence is paramount. He has smashed all attempted rebellions against his authority, and a few of them looked very serious for a time. From the " Brown House " in Munich his writ runs all over the Reich and his word is obeyed unquestioningly. The rank and file of the " Storm Troops " have proved their loyalty to " the Chief " in the face of revolts by their immediate commanders. No doubt many of the newer leaders of the party have infinitely more ability than their leader and are privately inclined to laugh at him. But there can be no question of ousting him from power, for his personality alone is capable of holding together all the discordant elements in the Nazi camp. Without Hitler the party would certainly fall asunder, the larger section going over to the Communists, and a minority to the old Nationalist party. He has shown considerable skill in driving his ill-assorted team, though the necessity of conciliating all sides has introduced extraordinary discrepancies into his public pronouncements. Thus the Nazi programme provides for the liquidation of all big corporations and trusts. Hitler now adds : " except such as have definitely benefited the nation "—a loophole for Thyssen, Krupp and other subscribers to the party funds. He has affirmed on oath that his movement will pursue its aims solely by constitutional means ; yet a few months later he could telegraph to the seven Nazis accused of the Beuthen murders (perhaps the most brutal in the annals of political crime

in Germany): "You are not murderers, but my comrades." His approach to office has made it still more difficult to tie him down to any definite policy, and his first broadcast message to the German people as Chancellor is a study in the art of saying nothing at great length.

How explain his ascendancy over the masses? To millions of normal Germans he is a prophet and a hero. On what is this reputation based? Obviously not on his intelligence. Nor can it be on his political record, which makes poor reading. He has been invariably outwitted by more experienced statesmen and sometimes made to look intensely foolish. He has made bad mistakes in tactics: witness his decision to oppose Hindenburg for the presidency in March of last year. By this action he secured for the old Field Marshal a solid block of twenty million votes and therewith the claim to speak for the absolute majority of the German people. The story of the frantic endeavours to make him a German citizen in time for the fray raised much laughter at his expense.[1] And even now, before being entrusted with the Chancellorship, he has had his wings firmly clipped by the President. He has had to accept as colleagues most of the "Government of Barons" which he was hysterically denouncing a few months ago. In addition he has the chief of the Conservative Nationalists, whose meetings were consistently broken up by the Nazis during the last election campaign, as well as the chief of the *Stahlhelm*, with which his Brown Army has had many a skirmish. He can hardly expect these men to swallow his programme. Accordingly his

[1] As Hitler declined to apply for naturalisation in the ordinary way, his friends sought to smuggle him into citizenship by getting him appointed to some nominal position in the public service of one of those federal states which had Nazi ministries. First, Dr. Frick, then Minister for Education in Thuringia and now Minister for the Interior in Hitler's Cabinet, proposed to make him Professor of Education in the University of Jena, but the Faculty protested. Frick then proceeded to nominate him head constable of the police in the little village of Hildburghausen, but amid general laughter the nomination was held to be unconstitutional on the ground of secrecy. Finally Dr. Klagge, the first Nazi minister in Brunswick, found the solution. Hitler was appointed attaché to the Brunswick "Legation" in Berlin, a post which involved neither work nor salary, but only an oath of allegiance to the Weimar constitution, which the new official apparently found no difficulty in taking.

choice will be unenviable : either to scrap his more crazy objectives and govern Germany along bourgeois conservative lines, thereby risking the secession of his proletarian supporters, or to stage a fight with his " reactionary " colleagues and return to the wilderness once more.

Some have attempted to explain Hitler's ascendancy by his eloquence, others by his genius for propaganda, others again by the fact that he stands on the same intellectual plain as the bulk of his followers. While these are contributory factors, the personality of the man himself cannot be left out of account. His personal honesty and disinterestedness are not disputed by any sincere opponent. But the real secret of his power lies in his fanatical, almost mystic, belief in himself and his mission. " I am only forty-three years old," he told his followers on the day after his defeat in the presidential election, " and I am in perfect health. I am convinced that nothing can happen me, for I know that I have been appointed to my task by a higher power." There are only two barriers to megalomania in public life : intelligence and a sense of humour. Either of these qualities would suffice to prevent it, but I believe Hitler to be lacking in both, and thus faith in himself and his mission has become for him a kind of religion. Such fanatical belief can easily be communicated to the masses, especially when it is accompanied, as in his case, by the gift of eloquence. It is not merely the right sort of faith which is capable of moving mountains.

I write while Germany is in the throes of the most bitter election in her history. Until the result is known, it would be idle to speculate as to the new Chancellor's future. But, whatever be the result of the gambler's throw, he himself will deserve the continued attention of the student of comparative politics. For the phenomenon of Hitler is not peculiar to Germany.

D. A. Binchy

A CATHOLIC KING: PHILIP II OF SPAIN[1]

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KING PHILIP II of Spain was never, even in his own lifetime and at the height of his power and popularity in Spain, a person whom it was easy to love. Since his death he has been a problem to scores of historians and biographers. To his Spanish contemporaries he was " Philip the Prudent "—worthy son of an illustrious father --whose long reign and many brilliant achievements gave him much the same place in the affections of his people as was held three centuries later by Queen Victoria of England. To his Flemish and Dutch subjects in the Netherlands, if we may be permitted to make for a moment a distinction that was not yet apparent in Philip's own lifetime, he was the tyrant and despot whose rigorous, obstinate policy of terror and oppression had driven a once loyal and contented people to revolt. To the generation which came immediately after his reign he was the gloomy, suspicious, hateful master who had wreaked a treacherous vengeance on his faithful servant, Antonio Perez, and whose memory was blackened by charges of immorality and cruelty and private vice. The legend grew as the generations followed one another. When Schiller wrote his *Don Carlos* and Goethe his *Egmont*, it was taken for granted by all Protestant students of history that Philip's career had been a lifetime of monstrous cruelty and oppression. Mignet popularized the legend in France by his *Antonio Perez et Philippe II*. In America and the

[1] *Philip II of Spain.* By David Loth. (Routledge. 1932. 15s.).
Philippe II à l'Escorial. Par Louis Bertrand. (Artisan du Livre. 1929. 15 fr.).
Philippe II : Une ténébreuse Affaire. Par Louis Bertrand. (Grasset. 1929. 15 fr.).
Johanna die Wahnsinnige. Von Ludwig Pfandl. (Herder. 1930. M. 6.80).
The Revolt of the Netherlands. By P. Geyl. (Williams & Norgate. 1932. 12s. 6d.).

English-speaking world Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* became a " standard-work," and has been ever since responsible for a vast amount of ill-informed prejudice against the Spanish nation as a whole and Philip II in particular. For one who read Prescott's incomplete but far more judicious *History of the Reign of Philip II*, ten at least had read their Motley and judged accordingly. Even in Spain, where historical studies had been long neglected, little or nothing was done to rehabilitate the memory of one of Spain's greatest kings. In spite of the publication of the *Documentos ineditos para la Historia de Espana*, Spain still awaits the scholar who shall bring life into these dry bones of her national history.

Meanwhile, outside of Spain, reaction has set in. To name one surprising name, Froude may be claimed as a pioneer in this movement towards a juster estimate of Philip's services to his own country and to Europe as a whole. For all his prejudices and inaccuracies, Froude was a diligent reader of sixteenth-century archives all over Europe, and his studies had made him only too familiar with Philip's " well-known abominable hand." Like Prescott, Froude was slowly forced to the conviction that neither the Emperor Charles V nor his son Philip II could be justly dismissed as " merely reactionary bigots." His essay, *Antonio Perez : An Unsolved Historical Riddle*, is on the face of it an honest attempt to do justice to Philip's memory in one famous episode of his long reign. But Froude was too ardent a partisan of Elizabethan England to be an impartial judge towards Elizabeth's great foe ; and he plainly finds it difficult to make even so modest a concession as that " the poor King did patiently endeavour to understand the subjects before him, and to resolve upon them with the best efforts of his limited ability." Even more characteristic perhaps is that other phrase with which Froude ends a long summary of Philip's personal merits and defects. He was, so the Oxford historian writes, " conscientious from his own

point of view, and not without the feelings of a gentleman." But it is easy to smile nowadays at what were the first efforts of a typical English Protestant historian to shake off the inherited prejudices of many generations. Froude's essay is in many ways a fine piece of historical reconstruction, and his more brilliant essay on *The Spanish Story of the Armada* has brought home to thousands of English readers the elementary truth that in that great struggle between two nations not all the glamour of romance was on the side of Elizabeth and her semi-piratical sea-captains.

Quite recently Philip's personality has once more attracted the attention of writers and scholars from many countries. Mr. David Loth and Herr Ludwig Pfandl are two brilliant exponents of the art which Mr. Guedalla has christened " The New Biography." Both write brilliantly, and Herr Pfandl adds to his literary and psychological gifts an acquaintance with scientific psychiatry which must be taken on faith by the average reader of his essay in biography. Whatever be the truth as to his verdict that Queen Joan and Don Carlos were both suffering from an inherited form of dementia that can be accurately diagnosed from a careful study of the contemporary evidence, there can be no question as to the value of his study for all who wish to judge fairly the moral issues involved in so many episodes of the domestic life of Philip II and his father, Charles V. The brilliant achievements of those true founders of modern Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, have made most students forget their immediate antecedents and the astonishing degeneracy of Spanish life under the last separate kings of Castille and Aragon. Herr Pfandl points to the grim facts. John II of Castille, Isabella's father, was all his life little better than a puppet in the hands of his unscrupulous favourite, Alvaro de Luna. It was de Luna who forced the king to take as his second wife Isabella of Portugal, the niece of Portugal's great imperialist, Henry the Navigator. Isabella

was an orphan and without any powerful protector; her arrival in the court of Castille would not disturb de Luna's influence over the helpless king. As it happened, these plans miscarried. Isabella had character enough to overthrow the favourite, who was impeached and executed six years after the marriage. But Isabella was unbalanced from the first, and her mind gave way soon after this victory. From her, through the great Isabella of Castille, can be traced that strain of inherited madness which became a public scandal before all Europe in the two tragedies of Queen Joan and Don Carlos. How far this tragic inheritance affected the personal character of those members of the family whose minds were not actually clouded by disease, is a question that can never be answered. Herr Pfandl is very definitely of the opinion that Philip II's well-known *pié de plomo*—that leaden-footed slowness of action which was the despair of his generals and admirals and of all those numberless conspirators in other lands whose plans depended on Spanish help—was an abnormal hesitancy of decision which the king owed to his ancestral lineage.

That is indeed just the sort of psychological problem which makes King Philip's personality a fascinating study for all who care to look beneath the surface of history. Philip II is one of the typical absolutist monarchs of an age which saw the foundation of centralised, absolutist monarchy in most of the states that still dominate modern Europe. In his person, as in the person of Henry VIII or Elizabeth or Henri IV or Louis XIV, centralised, absolutist monarchy may fairly be tested as a workable institution. No doubt each of these rulers suffered, not only from local and transient difficulties which prevented them from realising perfectly the plans of government they had conceived, but no less plainly from personal limitations and defects which must have made things different for the country they governed. But that is precisely the gravamen of those who do not believe in

absolutist monarchy at all. Why should a people be perpetually made to suffer for the personal defects and limitations, whether inherited or acquired, of a single ruler? From time to time, so every critic of monarchy will freely admit, a ruler may be thrown up by chance, or developed by tradition and education, who is genuinely worthy of the high trust he holds. These men, however, will always be the exceptions. Nature follows the law of averages, and on the average human nature, no matter what the family inheritance, must be unequal to so great a responsibility. So that it is pointless to excuse a ruler on the plea either of personal inadequacy or (as Mr. Loth suggests in the case of Philip) of constant bad luck. That is indeed the true issue in Philip's memorable reign. Since human nature is on the average mediocre, can a system which places all power in the hands of a single average human being be justified by its results? Is personal monarchy in the long run doomed everywhere to be a failure?

To be fair to Philip II, this son of the Spanish Renaissance was far from being an average man in intellect and will-power. The constant insistence by writers like Froude on what they call Philip's "small-mindedness" is surely due to a lack of sympathy with the ideals which animated Philip's policy throughout his long reign of close on half a century. Mr. Loth, who has a sympathetic insight into the more personal and domestic aspects of Philip's struggle against adversity, fails here as signally as did Froude two generations ago. No action of public policy is more characteristic of Philip's devotion to the cause of Catholic reform than his gesture of submissive veneration to the Holy Father after Alba had defeated the papal army in 1557. Paul IV was a Caraffa, and had never made any secret of his enmity to Spain. The Spanish people, so the hot-blooded Neapolitan used to say, were no more than "the spawn of Jews and Moors, the dregs of the world." Philip himself was "that son of iniquity, offspring of the so-called

Emperor Charles, who passes himself off as King of Spain." This was in truth provocative language, and the Pope's deeds matched his words. In his eagerness to be done with Spanish control of his Neapolitan fatherland, the Pope made a secret alliance with Henry III of France, and the two allies launched an attack simultaneously against Naples and Flanders. This was within two years of the Emperor's abdication, and Philip might have felt justly aggrieved that he had not been given time to prove his loyalty as Catholic King. The war was soon over, thanks to Alba's mastery of strategy, and Philip was in a position to dictate his terms. The Emperor in his retirement could see nothing but a golden opportunity of putting an unfriendly Pope in his place; but his son thought otherwise. Sore against his will, Alba was bidden ask the Pope's pardon on his knees for having taken up arms against the Holy Father. Philip's purpose was declared by himself to have been twofold: "To secure the kingdom of Naples, and to be considered by His Holiness as the most obedient son of the Apostolic See." Alba fumed; the Emperor was disgusted; the Protestants sneered at Philip's superstition; and Mr. Loth takes little trouble to conceal his own contempt. Yet Philip was surely right, even from the point of view of worldly policy. Nothing had done more to excite the distrust of his contemporaries towards Charles V than his double-faced policy towards Catholic reform. From the outset of his reign Philip was clear as to his own policy, and he maintained that policy with unshaken perseverance unto the end more than forty years later. Spain lost many wars in the meantime, and her prestige was sorely shaken. But much of the loyalty which Philip's subjects showed him in the hour of adversity was due to their sense of the courage with which their King was defending the Catholic Faith on the great theatre of European wars.

Akin to Philip's devotion to the cause of Catholic reform was his enthusiasm for the arts of the Catholic

Renaissance. Titian's portrait of the king is but one of many paintings which survive to attest the king's interest in the fine arts; and it is significant that Philip turned to Titian for comfort, begging the great artist's presence in Flanders at his court during that first northern tour which revealed so clearly the lack of sympathy between the Spanish ruler and his Netherlandish subjects. Yet Philip was also a generous patron to Antonio Moro, the Dutch painter from Utrecht; for in his love of art he was a true European. The most lasting memorial of Philip's work as patron of the arts is, of course, the monastic palace of the Escorial. Those who have not had the opportunity of seeing with their own eyes the majesty of that sermon in stone may find some consolation in reading M. Louis Bertrand's book on the story of its construction. Here we have in truth a writer who possesses all that sympathy for royalty and Catholicism which is essential in one who shall interpret fully the mind of Philip and the *ethos* of his reign. M. Bertrand has spent long months in the Escorial, where he was the guest of the Augustinian Fathers, to whose care the palace is now entrusted, and where he was privileged to use all the resources of the famous library founded and endowed by Philip II. His story of the building of the Escorial—a work which occupied the mind of Philip for almost all the forty-five years of his reign—is taken from contemporary narratives, and has all the glow and enthusiasm of those early days when the twin influences of Italian classicism and Catholic reform were the inspiring force of the literature and art of Catholic Spain. Philip, so M. Bertrand makes it plain from the contemporary records, was from first to last the moving spirit in the whole work of construction: he was in person the chief architect, the contractor-in-chief and the treasurer who supplied with unstinted generosity the necessary funds. His architects, Juan Bautista de Toledo and Juan de Herrera, were true sons of the Renaissance, scholars who were masters of Greek and Latin as well as of mathe-

matics and philosophy, thinkers who deliberately strove to translate their thought into the hard, clear-cut lines of this national monument. Even more characteristic perhaps, and certainly more lovable, to the modern reader, is the Hieronymite monk, Fray Antonio de Villacastin, who acted for many long years as the Obrero Mayor of the whole enterprise. His varied career as apprentice and artist and tirelessly active religious gives M. Bertrand an opportunity of sketching in his liveliest prose the fortunes of a true son of Spain's Catholic Renaissance. But over all the multitudinous activities that went to the building of this unique monastic palace is the presence of Philip's spirit, and Philip's unwavering determination to translate his faith into visible form that shall at once give pleasure to the eye and satisfy the intellect. Those only who can see no beauty in the Escorial can hold that Philip's was a mediocre mind.

To turn from M. Bertrand's admirable account of the Escorial to his second, and more hastily written volume on the Antonio Perez incident, is to turn from the luminous quality of Spanish art and Spanish mysticism to the obscurity of a fifteenth-century Italian court-intrigue. It is part of Philip's fate that his reputation can never be shaken clear from the clinging taint of this mysterious affair. It is part also of the fate of all personal monarchy that the absolutist ruler must always depend in the long run on some such creature as Antonio Perez, whose traitorous activities have brought more discredit on Philip than any of the king's admitted failures and blunders. For Antonio Perez, to whom Philip had given every opportunity of advancement and wealth in the king's service, was a brilliant writer of the journalist type as well as an astonishingly able diplomatist and master of intrigue ; and his *Relacion* has done more than any other published work to blacken Philip's reputation. The story of the quarrel between Perez and Escovedo, the secretary of Don John of Austria, then Governor of the

Netherlands, is too well known to be recalled here. Escovedo's murder, the scandal which attached to the names of Perez and the Duchess of Eboli, the long campaign of libel and counter-libel, the king's equivocal position in the midst of all this intrigue, his distrust of his half-brother Don John, his suspected complicity in the murder of Escovedo, his slowly-growing distrust of Antonio Perez, the sudden arrest, the long imprisonment, the escape to Aragon, the last dramatic scenes which involved —almost by accident—the loss to Aragon of her ancient *fueros* and the final establishment of absolutist personal government all over the peninsula, the second flight of Perez and his vindictive campaign against the memory of his former master: all these are the elements of a mystery which has fascinated those historical writers who love that touch of romance which is so sorely lacking in Philip's conscientious discharge of his royal duty. To add to the student's perplexity, the original documents on which an impartial judgment might at last be ventured have been in large part destroyed by the two main actors in this drama; and many of those which Perez quotes in his *Relacion* are of more than suspect authenticity. We are thus forced back on the probabilities of a case in which both parties accuse the other of every imaginable crime against human honour and trustworthiness.

M. Bertrand's solution is simple in the extreme. Insisting throughout all his volume on the partisan character of all that has been written by Antonio Perez, our main authority (for the king was too haughty to justify his actions in public), he returns a verdict of "Not Proven" to every charge against the king's conduct in this affair. Strictly speaking, that verdict may perhaps be justified by the unsatisfactory character of the extant evidence; but historians are not so straitly bound as are judges and juries by the laws of evidence. It is impossible to shake off the feeling that Philip, who had let himself be trapped by a disloyal servant, was drawn

step by step into a series of actions which, each in turn, could perhaps be justified by the exigencies of state-policy where treachery was suspected, but which in the end led him fatally forward to an impossible position. How far the king was deceived by Perez, how far he was genuinely innocent of the crimes that were committed and planned in this intrigue, can never now be known; but the probabilities are heavily against his complete innocence. And there is perhaps a Nemesis here, a punishment of the King's Hybris. As Froude words the charge, the king had "an unwise ambition to exercise the attributes of omniscience." It was part of Charles V's advice to his son that he should always surround himself with servants whom he had raised from obscure positions, make use of their talents to the utmost, and safeguard himself against possible ingratitude by playing one off against the other. Escovedo and Perez and Vasquez, the three secretaries who play a leading part in all this scandal, were creatures of this type; and their endless intrigues against one another finally involved the king himself in the least creditable episode of his whole reign.

The incident of Antonio Perez is closely connected with another, and graver, matter in which Philip's reputation has also suffered in the judgment of posterity. Escovedo was secretary to Don John of Austria, and Antonio Perez was active in suggesting to his master that Don John was plotting treason in the North. Here again the truth escapes us, but Don John, if indeed he plotted treason, was not the only traitor. A recently published chronicle by one of the monks of the Escorial shows that in contemporary Spanish opinion Perez was regarded as a traitor, convicted on clear evidence of having sold state-secrets to the Dutch insurgents. Once again, this time with irresistible force, we are reminded of Froude's charge that the king could never believe himself to be less than omniscient; and indeed his secret service was the most highly organised in Europe. Philip was in all his vast

cares of government the true centralising autocrat, and the fatal weakness of this policy is nowhere more apparent than in his handling of the Netherlands revolt.

Yet even here the fault lies rather in the system than in the man. The truth is that Philip was in all the essential features of his policy the inheritor of his father's mistakes. Charles V could never understand that the Spanish kingdom, even when dissociated from the Empire, had grown too vast for one man's control. He himself had been born in Flanders and knew the country well. Philip was a Spaniard, and was never at home in the north. But even Charles had failed to grasp the difference between the Spanish and German temperaments, and on his shoulders must rest the responsibility of having brought the Spanish Inquisition to Flanders. The Edict of Blood dates from 1550, five years before Philip's accession. And Flanders was already seething with discontent and suppressed Calvinism when Philip took over the heavy burden from his father. To have expected Philip to alter immediately a policy which the great Emperor had followed for so many years in the land he knew best, would have been to expect much from any ruler; for Philip it would have been all the more unthinkable since the father whom he revered as an infallible counsellor was still alive to watch his movements from Yuste, to admonish him and rebuke him, when necessary.

The immediate occasion of the revolt in the Netherlands is significant of the difficulties that faced a ruler who attempted to govern the Netherlands from Spain. In Spain Philip was accustomed to a system by which the monarchy was everywhere recognised as the instrument of centralising reform: such a system suited perfectly Philip's classicist temperament and education. But in Flanders this same centralising government was open to suspicion as a hostile influence, alien to all that was most national in the life of the Netherlands. Philip found the episcopate in Flanders ill adapted to the work of executing

the reforms of the Council of Trent, and subject to the sees of Cologne and Reims. He proposed a reform which was carefully planned in its details, and which was unquestionably better suited to the work of ecclesiastical administration than the existing cumbrous system. But there were vested interests to be considered which he, the born autocrat, overlooked ; and in Flanders any strengthening of ecclesiastical control was at once suspect as a prelude to some renewal of the powers of the Spanish Inquisition. So, too, Philip's carefully planned reforms of the system of taxation were resented as a new device for exporting Flemish wealth to pay for Spanish wars. Philip was, in fact, here the victim, not merely of the system of personal monarchy, but even more of the ill-advised Spanish ambitions which had planned the Austrian marriage at a time when the discovery of the New World had added vast territories to the kingdoms of Ferdinand and Isabella. Charles V had attempted to rule this ill-assorted Empire by his single will and single mind. Even his tireless energy proved unequal to the task, and the kingdom he handed over to his son in 1555 was on the verge of bankruptcy. In Spain the discontent of his subjects could be soothed by feelings of national pride, though even Spaniards were beginning to suspect that their ruler had been over-ambitious. In Flanders the feeling was frankly hostile to Philip from the outset, and the blunders which Philip made in the first years of his reign are the typical blunders of an autocratic government at loggerheads with a strong nationalist opposition. Alba's tyranny was the most fatal blunder of all, for it confirmed the Calvinists in their ascendancy over the patriotic party in the Netherlands. When Alexander Farnese opened his brilliant campaigns and offered the insurgents gentler terms, it was already too late to do more than halt the progress of Calvinism on the northern banks of the great rivers. Holland, Zealand, Utrecht and the provinces of the north-east were lost for ever ; Flanders and Brabant

would have been lost as well, had their strategic position been less exposed to attack from the south.

Dr. Gheyl, who is a Dutch Professor at the University of London, has recently published an account of this long struggle for independence which, though heavy to read, is as satisfying to the intellect as Motley's facile rhetoric is diffuse and unconvincing. In contrast to Motley's one-sided narrative, Dr. Gheyl makes it plain that the Calvinist minority that got control, first in Holland and Zealand, then for a time in Flanders and Brabant, and finally in all the Dutch territories north of the rivers, was a very small and very fanatical, but very determined and efficient minority. The driving force behind their propaganda among the people was everywhere hatred of the Spanish Inquisition, which Charles V had introduced into the Netherlands, and which Philip persisted in maintaining in the teeth of the bitter opposition from Catholic and Protestant alike. But the Calvinist minority had more than a negative creed to carry them through those early years of struggle. They were the elect of God, the "Reformed," as surely as were Cromwell's Puritans in England and Ireland. And their creed was translated into a political organisation which was savagely intolerant of any faith save their own. As Dr. Gheyl puts it, the Calvinists of Holland, where first they gained control, were "a community of active citizens, the only ones who, according to their own opinion, had a right to activity and who as emphatically identified themselves with the nation as do the Fascists in present-day Italy." To Philip they were, not merely heretics, but open enemies of Christian Society, who were prepared to smash down all existing institutions with the same fury of zeal which they showed in smashing the windows and statues, and white-washing the paintings, in every Catholic church into which they forced an entry. Philip's view was shared by the vast majority of his Catholic contemporaries, who never questioned his right to exterminate this heresy once it

came into the open as an armed force in revolt against authority. Even the outlawry which the king decreed against William of Orange was in keeping with the prevailing notions of public justice; the murder of the prince was accepted as a blow struck hard at the heart of a dangerous movement. Philip's conscience never troubled him over this action; but he must have felt, as the revolt dragged on without a leader, that his judgment had been sorely at fault. Once again Philip's secret service had misled the omniscient master. The Prince of Orange was a leader of genius, a dangerous foe to any government that sought to oppress Dutch nationality. But his leadership was not the true inspiration of the movement; Motley's dramatic drop-curtain at the death of the Prince is not the least grave of his many distortions of history in the interests of rhetoric.

To judge Philip's actions fairly in the Netherlands, it is essential to view his policy in the perspective of sixteenth-century Europe, still struggling desperately in many of its members to maintain or regain the lost unity of the Middle Ages. Philip failed in his purpose, as any Spanish king must have failed, though it was no small achievement that he stopped the advance of Calvinism north of Antwerp, Ghent, Brussels and Louvain. He failed because his championship of Catholicism was inseparably linked with his claim to rule a nation that no longer willingly submitted to his authority. If it took the Prince of Orange several years to throw in his lot definitely with the Calvinist cause, we can understand the hesitations and heart-searchings of those many Catholics who found themselves forced into an alliance with a party which they feared and abhorred. There must have been many who found it hard to choose between faith and fatherland; those who chose the patriotic cause were not always the most fearless. Egmont, for example, figures in Dr. Gheyl's narrative as a weak, vacillating man, whose death was felt by the Calvinists themselves to have been the reward

of his "inconstancy." Those few Catholics who had the courage to defy Calvinist intolerance in the cities where they had gained control were surely men of sterner stuff than this self-deceiving intriguer.

This same tragic identification of Spanish and Catholic interests has left its mark on the history of English Catholic martyrs, and was resented by Popes who were less fiercely anti-Spanish than the Caraffa Paul IV. Once again Nemesis follows Hybris. The nation that seeks to pose before the world as the God-appointed champion of a cause that is essentially Catholic in its world-wide appeal, must suffer in the end for its presumption. Pastor's *History of the Popes* is full of reminders that Spanish policy was felt to be unbearably arrogant and intolerant by Roman diplomatists and statesmen; and the repeated attempts of the Popes to curb the activities of the Spanish Inquisition are another illustration of this same fatal narrowing of Catholic interests to suit the temperament of a single nation. Philip is here the spokesman of his people, and he has too often been made the scapegoat for sins of pride which were common to all Spaniards of Spain's great century. We here in Ireland at least should rather remember the princely generosity which supported so many of our Irish Colleges in Spain, and which was ever ready to give aid when an appeal was made to the Spanish king in the name of sufferings endured for the Faith. And students of Catholic missionary history will not easily forget the work which Spanish and Portuguese missionaries, working under the protection of Spain's Most Catholic King, did for the propagation of the Faith in Central and South America during the half century of Philip's reign.

There is thus much that can be set off against the manifest limitations and defects of Philip's over-cautious and conservative government. The charge of "small-mindedness" comes incongruously from Philip's critics, who so easily overlook his services to a great cause in the

New World and the Old. Even the *pié de plomo*, on which Philip prided himself no matter how his admirals and generals might rail against it, was often a salutary check on ministers or governors whose survey of the problem was less wide than the King's. None the less it is plain that Philip had been set an impossible task by the ambitions of his father. It is significant that his last solution of the Flemish problem was to arrange a marriage between his daughter and Albert of Austria, by which in the normal course of nature the government of the Netherlands would at long last have been separated from the over-centralised government of Spain. But fate was unkind in this marriage, as had so often happened when Philip went match-making. Indeed it must be confessed that Mr. Loth's plea of sheer ill luck is justified at least in all that concerns the king's matrimonial affairs.

He had been four times a husband. His first wife, Maria of Portugal, bore him an only son, Don Carlos. Those who have read Herr Pfandl's analysis of the mental and physical condition of this unfortunate young man will feel that fate never dealt Philip a harder blow than when he was doomed to be the father of this neurotic, ill-shapen, ill-mannered and untrustworthy imbecile. Philip's second wife was Mary of England. Mr. Loth is nowhere more brilliant than when he is writing of the weeks during which Mary imagined herself to be the mother of an heir to her throne, whilst Philip and the rest of the court were slowly forced to the unlovely conclusion that she was suffering from a delusion. For the king it was a sore humiliation, and it is small wonder that, once safely across the Channel in Brussels, he let himself go in one of those rare outbursts of irresponsible gaiety which are a welcome oasis in the desert to historical students of Mr. Loth's school. What would have happened had Mary borne Philip a son in those summer months of 1555 ? It was not to be; and the king, with characteristic persistence, married again on Mary's death, this time taking to wife Isabella of France. Two daughters were the fruit of this

marriage, the eldest of whom, it was hoped, by her marriage with Albert of Austria would found a dynasty that would rule the Netherlands in friendly alliance with the house of Spain. But that marriage also proved childless, and the Netherlands came back to Spain as a familiar burden to her back. Once again, and for the last time, Philip married on the death of Isabella, this time choosing Anne of Austria. Four sons and a daughter were borne to him by this princess, but the three eldest of the boys did not live to see the age of ten. The fourth lived to succeed his illustrious father as Philip III of Spain, and his son and grandson, Philip IV and Charles II, carried on the Hapsburg line to the end of the seventeenth century. But the most fervent advocate of hereditary monarchy could not cite this line of descent as a boon to the Spanish people; and Philip's reign thus closes with that same note of interrogation as to the future of all monarchy with which we have opened this study of his career.

But Philip's own death knew neither doubt nor interrogation in the courage with which the king faced his end. Like the stone walls of the Escorial, which bear the imprint to this day of the king's unwavering faith in Catholic dogma, the last weeks of his troubled, anxious, lifetime are an astounding assertion of the supremacy of will-power over mortal flesh. M. Bertrand, who closes his study of the Escorial with the narrative of Philip's last illness and death within the walls of his monastic palace, fitly heads his chapter with the proud title: *Comment meurt un roi.* The details of the illness are too grimly prescient of the corruption of the grave for reproduction here. But the king's constancy and astounding majesty in the midst of the most disgusting and humiliating ills of the flesh are all the more noteworthy.

AUBREY GWYNN

THE DIAMOND JUBILEE OF THE PAULISTS

BY JAMES J. WALSH, M.D., PH.D.

WE have been celebrating in New York with the enthusiasm the occasion deserves the diamond jubilee of the Paulist Fathers, that is the Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle which Father Hecker and a group of converts founded seventy-five years ago. Personally I feel that I have been in their debt for more than fifty years. One of the books issued by the Paulist Fathers not long after their foundation, *Sermons by the Paulist Fathers*, was one of the half-dozen volumes in our home when I was a youth of ten or twelve looking around with avidity for something to read. Serious in content as that volume undoubtedly was for a boy of my age, it still proved to be a ready resource on rainy days and on Puritan Sundays ; for we lived in north-eastern Pennsylvania, in the midst of a rather rigidly observant set of descendants of old Connecticut folk who had settled in the Wyoming valley. So far as the Sabbath was concerned, one would almost think that we were living under the blue laws.

Altogether we had just six books in the house. I remember all of them very well, and I have from time to time gone back to look them over for the pleasure of recalling the time long ago when these represented such a treasure. When my book memory begins, there was no book-shelf in the house ; our whole store of books were arranged on the parlour marble-top table in three pairs. They added a note of colour to the black horsehair furniture of the room and were ornamental as well as useful. They were :—*The Lily of Israel* (how well I remember its maroon binding) ; *The Fathers of the Desert*, in a darker red, which

became quite a favourite reading because it spoke of distant countries, the desert and the sea; *The Glories of Mary*, in dark green, whose "examples" I read and re-read with as much avidity as the rising generation devotes to mystery and detective stories; *Advice to Irish Girls in America*, a volume in bright green, by the nun of Kenmare; and most exciting of all, *Perils of the Ocean and Wilderness*, the story of the Jesuit missionaries among the Iroquois, by John Gilmary Shea. This volume took the place of the stories of the wide open spaces and the adventures among the Indians of the modern wild west books and magazines. Finally, there was a blue-covered volume, *Sermons by the Paulist Fathers*.

This last was a favourite reading book for my mother. She was entirely too busy during the week raising a family of twelve children and keeping the selling books for a business of over $100,000 a year for my father's firm to do any reading. On Sundays, when dinner was over, she would seat herself in the parlour and read some of these sermons. It was generally understood in the house, at least so far as the older folks were concerned, that if for any reason you could not go to Mass, and if you were not actually in bed with some illness, you should spend the time equivalent to the length of the Mass in reading some of these sermons. As the church was three miles away and as the temperature in winter was sometimes below zero and Masses were at six, seven and eight, with a High Mass at half-past ten, the younger folks might be excused from going to Mass, but they were supposed to make some compensation for this by reading the sermons of the Paulists. I think that most of us got our first serious ideas of religious belief and practice from these sermons. This was in the seventies, so that in the course of a little more than a dozen years after their foundation the influence of the Paulists had reached an obscure little town in north-eastern Pennsylvania.

The Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle,

popularly known as the Paulist Fathers, is a community of priests for giving missions and doing other apostolic works, especially in so far as these may conduce to the making of converts to the Catholic Church. The founder, Father Isaac Hecker, and all those with whom he was associated at the time of the foundation (Fathers Hewit, Deshon, Baker and Walworth) were converts to the Church. All of the original Paulists had belonged to the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, the Redemptorists, and their first missionary work to the American people was conducted under the auspices of the Redemptorists. With the permission of the Holy See Father Hecker and his companions formed a new community, which received very favourable letters of recommendation from the Congregation of the Propaganda to the bishops of the United States.

This group of men came to be known all over the United States. They were sadly needed at that time, about the middle of the nineteenth century. The Church had received large accretions to its numbers through immigration, and the feeling was aroused that there was something alien about the Church. This brought about the organization of the American Party, sometimes called the Know Nothing Party, because its members were instructed under their oath-bound secrecy to declare: "I know nothing about it." This party made things very unpleasant for Catholics at that time. To have a group of men like the Paulists to represent the Church everywhere throughout the country was an advantage indeed. Practically all of these men belonged to old New England families who had been long in this country. Some of their ancestors had come on the *Mayflower*. Father Augustine Hewit, "the scholar *par excellence* of the first group of Paulists," was a descendant of the oldest New England families. His lineage on both sides was ministerial. Among his ancestors were John and Priscilla Alden, of Longfellow's *Miles Standish*. Father Hewit's father was probably one of the greatest of a

remarkable group of Protestant clergymen in the New England of the early nineteenth century.

Another of these early Paulists, Father Clarence A. Walworth, a son of the Chancellor of the State of New York (an office no longer existent, but then one of the highest judicial positions in the State), was also a descendant of some of the very old families in America. He was very close to the founder's heart and was "the most polished and forceful orator of the group." A worthy companion of his was Father Francis A. Baker, one of the first fruits in America of that Oxford movement which under Newman had brought so many scholars into the Church. Before his conversion Father Baker had been a minister of the Anglican Church, and in spite of his youth he did much to stir up Anglicanism to recognise its true position with regard to the Catholic Church. His conversion caused a great sensation in Baltimore, the city of his birth and of his ministry. Not a little of the success of the Paulists in the early days of the foundation was due to him, and his untimely death was one of those mysteries of Divine Providence so hard to understand.

The last of the original group, Father Deshon, was quite a different type from any of these. It has been said: "Father Hecker was a man of original inspiration, Father Hewit a scholar and theologian, and Father Deshon a man of practical affairs." Besides being a descendant of a family long in the United States, Father Deshon's education for the army gave him in the eyes of all those who knew him an Americanism that was thoroughgoing. He received his education at West Point, where he was not only a classmate but a room-mate of General Grant. He graduated there with honours, among the first in his class, and as a consequence was accorded the opportunity to teach mathematics and ethics at his *alma mater*. While engaged in the search for the basic principles of ethics, he became very much interested in the Catholic Church, and became a convert. He had been promoted to a captaincy

in the United States army; but when he entered the Catholic Church he resigned his commission in order that he might be free to become a priest, for he felt a strong vocation toward a life of earnest effort to make his fellow-countrymen understand properly this Church which he had come to love so deeply.

Institutions, it is often said, are the lengthened shadow of a man. To know them properly the most important thing is to be acquainted with their founder. Isaac Hecker was born December 18, 1819, down on the lower East Side in New York—not far from where Al Smith, Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago and Cardinal Hayes of New York were born. His father was a German immigrant, whose business as a brass founder having vanished, the three sons had to find occupation to support the family. At the age of eleven young Hecker was taken into the bakery which his brothers had started. He had to carry heavy loads through the streets of New York, sometimes in the severe heat of summer, at others in the bitter cold of winter. This hard work did not stunt his growth physically or mentally; as Thucydides long ago suggested, it strengthened his character. From his early years Hecker had a deep feeling that he was destined for some special spiritual work. Coming under the influence of Orestes Brownson, an older man but a seeker after truth, he was introduced to philosophy problems as they were discussed at that time, especially in connection with the works of Kant, Fichte and Hegel. Something of the intensity of Hecker's seeking after truth can be judged from the fact that he walked three miles every Sunday to listen to the sermons of a famous Unitarian preacher.

Young Hecker continued his intimacy with Brownson, and at twenty-three took Brownson's advice to join the community at Brook Farm. A group of New England transcendentalists gathered into a farm at West Roxbury and made it the scene of an experiment in agriculture, education and religion. They were under the leadership

of George Ripley, and men like Charles A. Dana, afterwards the well-known editor of the New York *Sun*, and Nathaniel Hawthorne, the American novelist, were prominent members of the community, while Emerson and Margaret Fuller and others of the Brahmin class of New England visited the farm occasionally. It represented a definite attempt to escape from the distractions of everyday life and to develop man's spiritual and mental potentialities to the full apart from the sordid cares of existence. It was a noble experiment in the elimination of worldliness from American life.

Father Hecker always cherished very pleasant, almost idyllic, memories of Brook Farm; but it did not prove satisfying to his aspirations, which were for something higher. He remained only some six months with the community and then joined a similar colony founded by Amos Bronson at Fruitlands, near Cambridge, Mass. He found both these well-meant social experiments disappointing, because there was no authoritative teaching. It was all a following of private judgment, with men pulling in many different directions. For a time after this he thought that Anglicanism might meet his spiritual requirements; but he was destined to get another disillusionment.

He lived in Concord for a while and took to the study of Greek and Latin to make up for the deficiencies of his education. It was while he was here, not far from Emerson, that Brownson wrote to him in June announcing his intention of becoming a Catholic. Hecker himself had been definitely drifting in that direction. He made a call upon Bishop Fenwick of Boston and also visited Holy Cross College, recently founded by the Jesuits at Worcester, Mass. He received conditional baptism at the hands of Bishop McCloskey of New York on August 1, 1844, the year before Newman was received into the Church. Hecker felt a call to the priesthood, and as he had become friendly with the Redemptorist Fathers

recently settled in New York he turned to them. He entered their novitiate in Belgium, was ordained priest in 1848, and after some pastoral experience in England returned to New York in 1851.

With a group of priests who were to be associated later with him as Paulists, all of them English-speaking converts, he went around the country preaching, making converts and winning the admiration of all who heard him. Inflaming the ardour of Catholics in their faith, this group of missionaries did an immense amount to diminish definitely and modify very materially the prejudices of the American people against the Catholic Church. How bitter this prejudice was at that time may perhaps be best appreciated from the fact that the American Party, called also the Know Nothing Party, thought itself strong enough to nominate a candidate for the presidency in 1856. The bigots of that day proved as intolerant in their treatment of Catholics as their successors in the Patriotic Order of the Sons of America (P.O.S. of A.) who came into prominence in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, or as the Ku Klux Klan in our twentieth century. The country districts particularly were the home of these prejudices, but also the smaller towns in the south and west where people knew little of the realities of Catholicity and had never met Catholics personally. In the cities the Paulists accomplished an immense amount to neutralize the bigotry that had come down from Reformation days.

Just at this time, between 1852 and 1857, Father Hecker wrote two books, *Questions of the Soul* and *Aspirations of Nature*, which may well be said to have opened a new chapter in the effort to present the teaching and spirit of the Catholic Church to the great mass of modern non-Catholics. Many of these knew little about it and most of what they knew was wrong; but they were all the more confident in their ignorance for this very reason. This work of neutralizing prejudice in the minds of Americans came to be the special task of the Paulist

Fathers, and they have been carrying it on ever since with notable success and with the most loyal fidelity to the suggestions which had been laid down by their founder and his first companions. When the Paulists were founded, Father Hecker came to be their superior and their leader in the works of zeal for the conversion of Americans and in devotion to the mystical life. Father Hecker himself had to suffer very severely from physical and psychic ills as well as from a burden of desolation in the spiritual life which settled down on him. For a time he had to live apart from his community; but he came back to give his blessing to his sons at the end, and they have continued the work that he mapped out seventy-five years ago. To-day the name of the Paulists is known and loved everywhere throughout the United States and Canada.

Father Hecker was probably the inventor of that pregnant expression, "the apostolate of the press," and with ready wit he declared that St. Paul was the first Christian journalist. He often quoted with emphatic approval that saying of Frederic Ozanam: "What the age needs is an intellectual crusade." "Catholics," he used to say, "are prodigiously slow to believe that one newspaper is capable of making more converts than ten churches." He believed in the apostolate of the press, and this word of his and by which he will be remembered has been taken by his spiritual sons as their motto and has been amply fulfilled. The Paulist Press spread Catholic literature far and wide in the United States, and was the initiator of that movement for the distribution of pamphlets at the doors of churches that has meant so much for the spread of Catholic truth not only among Catholics but also among non-Catholics. Literally millions of pamphlets have been distributed.

For three-quarters of a century the Paulists have now laboured in their chosen field, and it may well be said of them: "By their fruits ye shall know them." The mother church in New York early came to be one of the sights of

the metropolis because of its size, its architectural effectiveness and its interior decorations, which make it a focus of Catholic art worth visiting. Besides that, the Paulist church early acquired a reputation for the beauty and liturgical correctness of its services, for its excellent preaching, and for its faithful and punctual performance of all parochial and missionary duties. On special occasions people came from all over the city to St. Paul's, and the church became famous for the crowds that flocked to it and devoutly assisted, beneath its starry vault,[1] at the various services.

One of the special features of the Paulist services which has proved immensely attractive for Catholics and non-Catholics has been the Paulist choir, composed of men and boys under the directorship of Father Finn. One must have heard the choir to appreciate all the charm of it. It seems almost incredible that boy singers could be trained to be so effective before their voices broke. It required patient and devoted labour to secure this effect. The Paulist choir has succeeded in accomplishing almost a miracle in this; many a man and woman who came merely to hear the singing have gone away with quite other thoughts and other feelings with regard to religion, because the emotion aroused by such beautiful harmony of tone has put them in a state of mind to be susceptible to other beauties of the Church and of the Faith. Many of them were not satisfied until they secured some understanding of the services with which such beautiful singing was associated. The choir is an index of Paulist effort to make everything connected with the ceremonies of the Church as attractive and artistic as possible.

Besides their preaching to Catholics and non-Catholics in all parts of the United States and Canada, the Paulist Fathers have given great numbers of platform lectures in

[1] Under the direction of Father Searle, who had in his younger years been in the observatory at Harvard, the stars in tha vaults were arranged in constallations as they are in the heavens.

city halls, public schools, court-houses, and in the open. One of their number lectured some years ago to the Mormons on the Catholic Faith in the Mormon Tabernacle in Salt Lake City. In later years they have made use of the pulpit dialogue, which proved such an awakener of interest in religious questions during the Middle Ages, especially in Italy. Besides their millions of pamphlets dealing with religion, they have written a number of volumes of popular apologetics. Of one of these books, Father Conway's *Question Box*, almost three million copies have been sold. The Paulists were the first to enter the field of radio broadcasting so far as religion is concerned. Their station WLWL New York, maintained independently, has been for some six years an enlarged pulpit in which the Paulists and others of the clergy have preached to an otherwise inaccessible host of Catholics and non-Catholics.

In connection with the apostolate of the press Father Hecker established the *Catholic World*, a monthly magazine of Catholic thought, which has proved an excellent vehicle for the diffusion of appropriate information to Catholics and non-Catholics. But it has been besides a precious channel through which Catholic literary and poetical thought has found its way to the public. The volumes of the *Catholic World* contain some extremely interesting articles representative not only of American but also of English Catholic thought. If it enshrined nothing else than the biographical sketches of Catholics who, for their good deeds, deserved that their memories should not die altogether, it would have been an extremely valuable institution for the history of the Catholic Church in America. It has not always been easy and plain sailing to maintain it, and only a community could have carried it on in spite of discouragements and difficulties; but it has existed for nearly seventy-five years, and it is still the most representative organ of Catholic thought that we have in America.

The basic idea of Father Hecker and his first companions was to make the spirit of the Paulist community consciously and purposely American and in the broad sense democratic. Father Hecker himself said in the early days : " So far as it is compatible with faith and piety, I am for accepting the American civilization with its usages and customs ; leaving aside other reasons, it is the only way by which Catholicism can become the religion of our people. The character and spirit of our people and their institutions must find themselves at home in our Church in the way those of other nations have done ; and it is on this basis alone that the Catholic religion can make progress in this country." Quite needless to say, the note thus struck had an echo in many hearts. The Church has always accommodated itself, as far as compatible with her sublime mission, to the ways and customs of men. Her one idea was to win all hearts to Christ by making them Christians, while leaving them to be what race and country made them.

Father Hecker's idea thus expressed was amplified by that distinguished American prelate, Archbishop John Ireland, of St. Paul, who was himself looked upon by the great mass of non-Catholics in America as an American of the Americans. And Archbishop Ireland, as might have been expected from one of his oratorical powers, gave the idea a concrete illustration :—

> It is as clear to me as noonday light that countries and peoples have each their peculiar needs and aspirations, as they have their peculiar environments, and that, if we would enter into souls and control them, we must deal with them according to their conditions. The ideal line of conduct for the priest in Assyria will be out of all measure in Mexico or Minnesota, and I doubt not that one doing fairly well in Minnesota would by similar methods set things sadly astray in Leinster or Bavaria. The Saviour prescribed timeliness in pastoral caring. The master of a house, He said, " bringeth out of his treasury new things and old," as there is demand for one kind or the other. The apostles of nations, from Paul before the Areopagus to Patrick upon the summit of Tara, followed no different principle.

In connection with this avowed purpose there came

to be some misunderstanding on the position of the Paulists, and there were some who even ventured to express the suspicion that these " Yankee priests " were attempting to " Americanize " the Catholic religion. As a result, " Americanism " came to be spoken of as a sort of modern heresy. Most of this talk came from Europeans who had never met Paulists and who knew nothing about them at first hand. Some eight years after the appearance of Father Elliott's Life of Father Hecker it was translated into French, and only then did hostile criticism make its appearance. In a paragraph of the introduction which Archbishop Ireland wrote for this Life of Father Hecker there is a definition of the only kind of " Americanism " known to the Paulists. Archbishop Ireland wrote :—

> Father Hecker understood and loved the country and its institutions. He saw nothing in them to be deprecated or changed ; he had no longing for the flesh-pots and bread-stuffs of empires and monarchies. His favourite topic in book and lecture was, that the Constitution of the United States requires, as its necessary basis, the truths of Catholic teaching regarding man's natural state, as opposed to the errors of Luther and Calvin. The Republic, he taught, presupposes the Church's doctrine, and the Church ought to love a polity which is the offspring of her own spirit. He understood and loved the people of America. He recognised in them splendid natural qualities. Was he not right ? Not minimizing in the least the dreadful evil of the absence of the supernatural, I am not afraid to give as my belief that there is among Americans as high an appreciation and as lively a realization of natural truth and goodness as has been seen in any people . . . . Father Hecker perceived this, and his mission was to hold in his hands the natural, which Americans extolled and cherished and trusted in, and by properly directing its legitimate tendencies and growth lead it to the term of its own instincts and aspirations—Catholic truth and Catholic grace.

JAMES J. WALSH

ARTHUR CLERY

1879–1932

BY WILLIAM DAWSON

"PUBLIC men" abound in all countries. Ireland has always had her share—some may indeed say more than her share—of these notabilities. Statesmen, politicians, authors, soldiers, and, in more modern days, actors, aviators, cinema "stars" and prize-fighters fall or climb into this category. In the late Professor Arthur Clery Ireland may be said to have had a unique possession —a prominent "Private Man." True, he wrote, but to a large extent over pseudonyms; he spoke now and again in public, but he was not really a platform man; he took part in politics, but not in a showy fashion. For all that, he was well known throughout the country and in Dublin, his native city. Although he was unfamiliar to the man in the street, yet Arthur Clery succeeded in creating for himself a definite position. His views on affairs were comprehended; he was marked out among his fellow-men. Since he never sounded his own praises, never "blew his own trumpet," it is evident that there must have been some personal quality about him that influenced those among whom he moved. Of course, no man of genuine ability could have held a chair in University College, Dublin, for over twenty years and failed to impress himself on successive groups of undergraduates. This Clery did, and to this perhaps his position as Ireland's prominent "Private Man" is in some measure attributable.

A brief summary of his life is needed as a prelude to a study of his character and his work. Born fifty-three years ago in Dublin, his early school days were spent in that city at the Catholic University School under the direction of the Marist Fathers. He was an only child, the son of a Queen's Counsel. In 1893 he was sent to Clongowes Wood College. His mother had become a permanent invalid, and domestic distress compelled his father to try

his fortunes at the Bar in India. Arthur Clery's school career was continuously successful. He won exhibitions with ease, but at games he showed no skill. None the less his schooldays were possibly the happiest part of his life. He always spoke of the time spent at day and boarding schools as a very pleasant period, and in later years manifested a sturdy loyalty to both of these institutions. The same holds good with regard to University College (St. Stephen's Green), which he entered in 1896. The College was at that time under the control of the Jesuit Fathers, and it became Clery's home, one might say, as well as his college. Not that he " lived-in " ; his narrow means did not permit such extravagance, but his working and leisure hours were passed as far as possible within its walls. He repeated his early scholastic successes, securing a classical scholarship and obtaining high places throughout his " Arts " course. He won a gold medal for Oratory and was auditor of the Debating Society. Financial aid from relatives provided him with the funds necessary for legal studies, and in 1902 he was duly called to the Irish Bar. It is to be admitted that his choice of a profession was not the happiest, but it was " Hobson's choice." As we shall have occasion to consider later, the calling of an advocate was not best suited to his particular temperament. During his years as a law student he began his work as a free-lance journalist, and over the name of " Chanel " wrote almost weekly for the *Leader*. Articles by him (some signed " Arthur Synan ") appeared also in the *New Ireland Review* (then edited by Father Tom Finlay, S.J.), and he contributed regularly to the *Freeman's Journal*. In later years he wrote frequently for *Studies* and other papers. Many of these articles were brought out subsequently in book form in *The Idea of a Nation* and *Dublin Essays*. Briefs were not too plentiful, and Clery at one time made an unsuccessful bid for an Assistant Librarianship in the National Library. In 1910 he was appointed Professor of the Law of Real Property and the

Law of Contracts in the Dublin College of the newly founded National University.

A competence was at last his lot after a hard struggle. In politics he was at this time an ardent Home Ruler or Nationalist, as the term then was, but he took no active part. Indeed the Gaelic League and all it stood for commanded the largest measure of his support. Sinn Fein, under the lead of Arthur Griffith, made no appeal to him, although he was disposed to chafe at the moderate methods of John Redmond. With the outbreak of the War there came a decided advance in his views. He was opposed heart and soul to Irish enlistment in the British Army. Already a National Volunteer, he followed MacNeill, not Redmond, in 1914. He was, however, no soldier, and took no part in the fighting in 1916. He was the type that would more readily perish on the scaffold than on the battlefield. But he defended MacNeill at his courtmartial and returned the fee for his professional services. From this time on he adhered to the Sinn Fein Party, and at the peril of his life acted as judge in the Republican Courts during the " Black and Tan " epoch. Pearse became his ideal. And so we get, in the introduction to *Dublin Essays*, this characteristically extravagant passage : " Unless the judgment of living men upon themselves is wholly wrong, the age of Pearse will in after time have a glory like the age of Pericles." When the Treaty dispute arose, he took the Anti-Treaty side. About this time he accompanied Dr. Con Murphy on a quasi-Republican mission to the Pope. Of this event he was always very proud, and said more than once that if he were to be " remembered for anything," it would be for this.

In June, 1927, Clery was elected to represent the National University in the Dail ; but he refused to take the Oath or in any circumstances to enter that assembly. At the later election of that year and at the subsequent election he did not offer himself as a candidate. He was now a disillusioned man. He refused as a Republican the

pension voted to him by the Oireachtas of Saorstát Eireann for his services as a Republican Judge; he gave his lectures in University College; he sat in the Law Library and advised or did Conveyancing work, but declined to appear in Court. Of course, he lost money in this way. Pilgrimages to Lough Derg, visits to Irish Colleges at Ballingeary and elsewhere, trips to the Continent, and close attendance at the hurling matches and tennis games at Croke Park and University Park filled up his leisure time. Rowing, swimming, and dancing were other hobbies. He wrote less and less, feeling no doubt that the times were out of joint. His last public appearance was at a gathering of Pan-Celts at Truro in September, 1932, where he read a paper on "King Arthur the Gael." Towards the middle of November last a chill caught at a meeting developed into pneumonia, and on the 20th day of that month he passed through death from mortal to immortal life. May he find in heaven a recompense for all that he denied himself on earth.

Such in brief is the career of Arthur Clery, and from even these meagre details the reader will infer that here was a man of exceptional character. Starting as a clever but almost friendless boy, by the sole force of his own brains, grit, and unswerving devotion to the principles he held, he achieved a rank which the very strength of these principles ultimately prevented him from enjoying to the full. Such cases are rare. Once, when writing about a dead friend, Clery said that he was "too big a man" to be "fobbed-off" with the *de mortuis* tag which is "the meed of the middle class dead." What Clery wrote of Tom Kettle applies equally to himself. He was not of virtues all compact; he had his faults. These shall have due mention. But taking him all in all, he was an outstanding man. In no sense could he be called ordinary. He was a curious mixture, combining temerity with timidity, generosity with parsimony, breadth of view with lack of perspective or sense of proportion, and—strangest

of all—sound democratic Republican sentiments with a distinct respect for rank and the claims of long descent. On emigration he held very strong views. With his skill in examinations he might easily have obtained a post in the Indian Civil Service; but he looked on voluntary emigration as "treachery" and would have none of it. A high sense of honour, a strict sense of duty, a delicate sense of humour, joined with a fervent faith, combined to make up the kindly, able, upright man that was Arthur Clery. He was super-sensitive, but quite as unwilling to hurt the feelings of others as he was desirous not to have his own feelings hurt. Put such a man—shy, sensitive,[1] just, and disposed to shrink from controversy—into Wig and Gown, and not all the knowledge in the world of jurisprudence will make him a successful advocate. Clery's true *métier* was that of a College Don. The pity is that his chair was not in a more liberal subject—English Literature, let us say—and a "whole-time job." As a judge, however, he won golden opinions. In this capacity his knowledge of law, his sense of justice, his common-sense, and his high mentality had full scope. Had he accepted the Treaty and been raised to the Bench (as would probably have happened), the legal system of the Free State would have benefited thereby.

Allowing that Clery's judicial work in the Republican Courts was his most useful service to the country, that his refusal of a pension was his most unselfish act, and that his mission to the Vatican was his most remarkable deed, it may still be conceded that it was by his writing he won most renown and exercised most effect. The late Erskine Childers, for instance, was deeply impressed by his views on the "Boundary" problem. As "Chanel" he was read all over Ireland and outside it, especially in the earlier years of this century when the new evangel

[1] Clery was neither shy nor sensitive in advocating novel views. He had the courage to be a pioneer. For instance, he advocated votes for women and votes for youth before Women or Manhood Suffrage; and he championed the idea of a Gaelic University in Galway when such a proposition was unthought of.

preached by D. P. Moran was sweeping over the country. The influence of the *Leader* on the undergraduates of University College at that time cannot be exaggerated. The group headed by Kettle, of which Clery was a leading member, came particularly under the spell. In his writings he showed not merely sense but courage. He was audacious as well as original. From his boyhood days he itched to write. To him, to Hugh Kennedy (now Chief Justice), and to one or two others was due the inception of *St. Stephen's*, the College magazine. Clery contributed to it over the *nom de plume* of "Chanel" (his confirmation name), and he adopted the same pseudonym in the *Leader*. His original points of view as well as his excellent prose (Chesterton calls him one of the best essayists of our day) attracted attention; but as he himself truthfully and pathetically said, "the Irishman who writes for posterity must write for export." It is likely enough that what Clery has written will die with him, may have even predeceased him.[1]

I must not omit to chronicle the brief history of the *Nationist*. This strangely entitled paper (the name was Kettle's) was founded by certain ladies of patriotic and pious instincts in 1905. They wanted Clery as Editor. The modesty or timidity (or both) already mentioned made him reluctant to take the post. He suggested Kettle or, in the alternative, myself. Eventually we formed a species of triumvirate with Kettle at the head. The weekly had a short life, becoming involved in controversy at the start and Kettle refusing to conduct it in accordance with the wishes of its proprietors. It was incorporated after a time with the *Peasant* and fell under the ban of Cardinal Logue.

Kettle and Clery were difficult men to combine in any enterprise. That Kettle "was not an easy man to work with" Clery has stated in print. I can truthfully say

[1] A book, however, on the Town Tenants Act for which he, Hugh Kennedy, and the late Michael Dawson were responsible, is still consulted and cited by lawyers.

that neither was. Each had a high opinion of the other; each had a real regard for the other. Perhaps Clery had the higher opinion of his friend's ability and Kettle had a greater affection for his friend. In a small association known as the *Cui Bono*, composed of University College graduates who had worked together on *St. Stephen's*, this curious relationship between two men often marred the harmony of our proceedings. In common parlance, they got on one another's nerves. Clery claimed—and justly—that he was the only one who "stood up to" Kettle. He did it, however, in a way that often drove his listeners into the latter's camp. Clery contended that Kettle "pierced the chinks of his armour"—an unpleasant experience for a super-sensitive man. Still, it should not be imagined that the meetings of this mutual non-admiration society were scenes of discord. The first of them was held in Clery's "digs," and there and then was drawn up the rather sketchy charter of the association. Sheehy-Skeffington withdrew from it at an early stage because women were not admitted! We began by meeting frequently for tea and ended (if we have, indeed, actually ended) by meeting infrequently for dinner. Clery played a characteristic part at these gatherings. None of us looked on the night as a genuine success unless he was present; but his strange timidity in the company of others would, however, often assail him. Rubbing his hands (after the fashion we all knew so well), he would break down in a story or withdraw from an argument in a disconcerting manner. But his wit, his originality of mind, and his unique power of raising the entire proceedings to a high plane and keeping them there made him almost indispensable. Thomas MacDonagh, who encountered him in quite other surroundings, said he "was the nearest approach to a genius he ever met." Kettle, who was the dominating spirit in the *Cui Bono*, called him "our Goldsmith." It may be that he had in mind a certain more famous Club of the eighteenth century of which

Goldsmith and Dr. Johnson were members. It may be that he had in mind, also, the affection as well as the admiration "Goldy" inspired. Irishmen (Clery among them) have always believed that Boswell's inability to value Goldsmith's worth was due not alone to jealousy of Johnson's love for him, but also to the fact that Irish wit was too subtle for the Scots and English in his company. Oliver Goldsmith did not, in reality, talk "like Poor Poll"; neither did Arthur Clery. Be that as it may, Clery did not always show to full advantage in such surroundings. To me it seemed that, as his audience expanded, he contracted. Put him on a public platform, however, and the man at his very best stood before you. He was a fine speaker. Among other lovable traits he possessed one which not seldom proved embarrassing. It was his great desire that his friends should "show-off" their particular qualities. No fond parent could be more eager for his offspring to display their gifts than was Clery that the talents of his "chums" should get full scope. To be called on suddenly to "say one's piece" or tell one's story is disquieting; but the danger was imminent if Clery were in the gathering. This desire to have the "spot-light" turned on others is highly unusual, to say the least. For all that he had a good conceit of himself.

A difficulty which confronts any one person who seeks to write about Arthur Clery is that he was so many-sided, so deeply interested in widely different matters and ideas, that a separate chronicler is really needed to bring in them all. Personally I was intimate with him in a high degree (our relations were brotherly, for we grew up together), and yet there were whole tracts, as it were, over which he trod, but of which I have little personal knowledge. In the Law Library he was among lawyers; in the University he was among his professorial colleagues or his beloved disciples; in the Gaeltacht he was among Gaels. In all these vastly-differing worlds he held a place of his own, and his geniality and kindliness of heart earned him popularity—

an astounding popularity when it is remembered that he had no vices. Clery's adherence to what became his greatest interest in life—the Irish language—dates from about 1900, when the clarion call of the *Leader* rang through the land. He supported the industrial movement as well. Prior to that time, incredible as it may seem, he was nearly a "West Briton"! *Pearson's Weekly* was his guide. At University College in 1899 he pleaded thus for Anglo-Irish writers: ". . . . if a foreign pedigree cannot rob Athens of her Pericles or France of her Napoleon, why should our great men[1] alone be the creatures of genealogy?" He delighted in then "music halls." (I recall his hurried dash from Clongowes to hear Eugene Stratton at "Dan Lowry's"). The plays of Oscar Wilde afforded him much pleasure, and he never shook himself free of a desire to excel in epigram. To the last he retained a genuine regard for the comic operas of Gilbert and Sullivan, even when he had quite turned away from other amusements provided by the "Theatre of Commerce." Bernard Shaw, as well, he continued to hold in esteem. He was an *habitué* of the "Abbey" and, in its day, of the late Edward Martyn's theatre in Hardwicke Street. Indeed, he dramatised his only novel, *The Coming of the King*, for production on that stage. The Rising of Easter Week, however, interfered with this plan. The drama always exercised a considerable attraction for him. As a child he used to compose amazing "plays," in which he invariably took the hero's part. So far as I know, his only serious play other than the one already mentioned, was *The Abbess*. It was in verse, and was published in the brief-lived *Irish Commonwealth* about 1919. Though the author himself had a high opinion of its merits, he was, I fear, in a decided minority. Opera was the joy of his soul, for he loved vocal music. His reaction to the violin, on the other hand, was that of the dog. To say, in the stock phrase, that he was "crazy" on singing is not to exaggerate. To sing well

[1] Swift, Sheridan, Wilde, Shaw, etc.

himself was his great ambition, but his ambition was too great. He would not content himself with the measure of drawingroom or even concert-hall skill, which satisfies most amateurs. Such singing he despised. On singing lessons and on music he spent quite a lot of money. It must be admitted that his methods were too vehement, his style too robust, to make him a successful addition to an ordinary suburban "musical evening."

The desire to travel came upon Clery early in life and never left him. On very exiguous means indeed—one wonders how he could at that time afford the money—he visited London and Paris in 1897. A few years later I made my first continental trip together with him. We went to Germany, Holland and Belgium. In later years he often visited Spain, Italy, Greece and, of course, Paris. He had a wonderful knack of seeing the most of a town or city in the smallest space of time. He would insist, however, on addressing foreigners in any language (including Latin) except English. Otherwise he had a singularly British mode of behaving himself when abroad. He always demanded tea. Once, when he was ascending a marble staircase in the Vatican, an American said to him: "Say, stranger, I guess you need to visit a dentist's parlor with those shoes." Clery was wearing the heavy shoes studded with nails with which he had recently been climbing the Alps! On another occasion he reduced me to a state of almost physical collapse by tramping all round a foreign town in pre-war days in search of the full exchange for a British sovereign. Notwithstanding his literary gifts and his intellect, he gave a very poor account of his travels. After his first visit to Rome I was eager to hear what he had to say of the Eternal City. His reply was to the effect that the Tiber was like the Liffey and served the same purpose. (This was in the days before Main Drainage.) By comments of this nature Clery often disappointed or aggravated his friends, and caused people who did not know him to underestimate his ability.

"Throw off the thraldom of Arthur Clery," said Kettle to me on one occasion. The remark was not so rude to either of us as it sounds. It was a recognition of the influence Clery had on those close to him. His tenacity of purpose was considerable. Not alone would he do, in face of all opposition, that which he wanted to do, but he was equally determined to make others act as he thought they should. No man (or very few) whom I have met complied better with Dr. Johnson's direction to clear the mind of cant. He hated humbug. His clarity of vision was most uncommon. As against this gift, however, was the lack of a sense of proportion. Argument with him often became impossible on this account. In the later years his intense hostility to the Treaty and its supporters rendered him quite unreasonable so far as that particular matter was concerned. All his life he fancied himself ringed round with enemies (I don't think he had a single one), but from 1922 on they appeared to him as legion. Youth had a fascination for him. He preferred the company of his juniors to that of his compeers ; nothing tends more to age a man rapidly. Beloved students, much as they liked him, found the gap of years difficult to bridge. He looked on youth as the prime, the hey-day of life. From almost his thirtieth birthday he spoke of his own life as if it were over, or at any rate drawing to a close. If he could himself have "thrown off the thraldom" of Thackeray (his social mentor), he might have found life smoother. All these traits may seem oddities. They were. Despite the greatness of his mental powers, no one will deny the eccentricities of Arthur Clery. He was, moreover, a man of puritanical purity (with all the lawyer's knowledge of evil) and a rigid, indeed rabid, teetotaler. He never gambled. This love of youthful company, this "Pussyfoot" complex, this reverence for the out-of-date conventions of mid-Victorian times, contrived to impart a certain aloofness to him when in general society. He had ever the air of one somehow and somewhat apart. On the

happy, but rare, occasions when full intimacy had been established, no more delightful companion could be desired. Slow in speech, he was immensely ready in up-take and repartee. But to secure full pleasure from his society not only was it necessary that he should be at ease with others; one had to feel sure that all present were at their ease with him—not so facile to arrange. He read widely (Anthony Hope was another favourite author), having a special *grádh* for French fiction of the better class, though it was part of his curious code that immorality was not quite so immoral provided it were not English! A spicy Parisian *café chantant* held for him none of the horrors of a stodgy London "music hall." Steadfast of purpose, he was full of strange inconsistencies. After the Treaty he reverted to the use of Kingstown and Queenstown instead of Dun Laoghaire and Cobh. An apocryphal tale is told of his asking a waiter for British coins in place of the Free State tokens he found in his change. *Non e vero* the story may be, but it has a genuine ring. Freedom in its general terms always had his warm support, no matter how intolerant he might be towards those who did not envisage freedom as he did. He was always on the side of Right, though—some may think—not always on the right side. Of Woman Suffrage, for example, he was at all times an eager champion, and Indian law students always found in him a friend. But he held strong, even bitter, views on "Masonry".

In writing of Kettle (the names Kettle and Clery, like those of Grattan and Flood, seem somehow linked together) Clery said that "he had a quality of brilliance proper to himself." Of Clery it might be written with equal truth that he had some indefinable quality "proper to himself" —perhaps that touch of genius attributed to him by MacDonagh. In any case, he was an idealist, and an idealist stands upon a lonely height.

William Dawson

THE IRISH IN "THE SOUTH"

BY MICHAEL KENNY, S.J.

CURRENT histories have usually withheld the significance of notice from the Irish contribution to the southern section of the United States. The tradition that the mass of Irish immigration started with the 1847 Famine, heading exclusively north and west, and that southern blood (except in a few French and Spanish sections) is purest Saxon undefiled, is still undisturbed by the overwhelming evidences of historical research. Some twenty years ago the present writer claimed in *America* a strong Irish strain for "The Blood of Seventy-six," showing that Cromwell and the initiators and heirs of his policy had so peopled the eastern coast with Irish slaves, redemptioners and varied immigrants that some forty per cent. of Washington's army from Vermont to Georgia were Irish by blood or birth, the southern Irish showing a higher percentage. Soon afterwards appeared *A Hidden Phase of American History* in which, and in subsequent contributions, Mr. M. J. O'Brien established by incontestable historical data from original records that, at minimum reckoning, the Irish formed thirty-eight per cent. of the American regulars in the war for Independence, and these were also foremost among the earlier pioneers of the middle and lower South.

However, when the editor of STUDIES, in view of my recent history of a Southern College and its background,[1] invited an appraisement of the Irish element in the South, I was not eager for the task. The claim that the Irish have been ever the dominant element in the membership and maintenance of the Catholic Church in the United States and of its clergy and sisterhoods, is as true as it is creditable; but the frequent assumption of the claimants that our Irish Catholic immigrants and their offspring

[1] *Catholic Culture in Alabama: Centenary Story of Spring Hill College.* (New York: America Press. 1931. pp. 400.)

have ever kept their Catholic loyalty intact, is not true, and the defections, though largely inculpable, cannot be termed creditable. A lengthy study of the question, with wide personal contact, has brought the conviction that, had all the present mixed or unmixed descendants of Irish Catholic immigrants of three centuries retained the faith of their fathers, the lowest estimate of our Catholic population would be fifty millions instead of twenty. Recent research into southern records has strengthened this conclusion, but has also brought the cheering compensation that Irish loyalty and zeal and sacrifice have here also been the mainstay of the Faith.

Irish entry in the Southland goes back beyond "The South," a term of comparatively recent designation. Geographically it originated in 1760 with the Mason and Dixon line of 39·50° establishing the southern boundary of Pennsylvania; gradually it became identified with the slave states, and at and after 1861 with the Democratic block of Secession States: Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Tennessee, and usually with the sympathetic border states of Missouri, Kentucky and Maryland and the later acquisitions of Oklahoma and New Mexico. But before its conquest or absorption by the United States this territory was known by titles of other origin. Its centre was French Louisiana, extending from the present boundaries of Florida and Georgia to Texas, and northward through the Mississippi valley. East of this were the Spanish Floridas, and west the northern extension of Mexico to California under Spain, which from 1780 to 1803 ruled the whole region from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Under both dominations Irish names appear with startling prominence.

One of the most successful of the Spanish missionary founders among the Indian tribes of Mexico-California, who is now more noted for his great pioneer treatise, *Teologia Mystica*, was Miguel Godinez, S.J., the Spanish

rendering of Michael Wadding, a worthy contemporary of his Franciscan cousin, Luke, and the other illustrious Waddings of Waterford, as also of his brother Jesuits in Spanish-America: O'Fihily or Field in Paraguay, O'Reilly in Guiana, Maglorey in Martinique, and Lynch, Provincial of Brazil. A successor of Wadding in the same field, whose Spanish transformation is less occult, was Juan Augustin Morfi, the author of *Descripcion*, the standard history of New Mexico in the eighteenth century; and among the civil and military notables we find Commander Hugo O'Conor and Governor Felipe Barry in Old California, and Juan O'Donoju, Mexico's last Viceroy. These are but the outstanding christianizing pioneers whom Ireland supplied to these regions while in the throes of her own battles for the faith; and there is reason to believe, when the records become available, that Irishmen will be also found at the same period among Spain's apostles of the Floridas.

Spain having abandoned the central South when its numerous expeditions to the Mobile Bay basin proved abortive, Iberville Le Moyne, the Canadian captain who with his six illustrious brothers had driven the British from northern seas, coursed the Mexican Gulf, 1699, and established Mobile as the capital of the southern empire that would bind the Gulf to the St. Lawrence. In 1718 his brother Bienville founded New Orleans, and the Jesuits brought out by Iberville having been withdrawn by the French Gallican Court, the first resident priest we find in the new capital is Père O'Donoghue, with the happy prenomen of Bonaventure. Irish blood appears among the French and Canadian colonists—Macartys, Murphys, Wogans, Walshes—some deriving from the Irish brigades sent out for the defence of Quebec, others from the Irish who, forcibly drafted into the British-Colonial armies, bolted at first opportunity to join their opposing brothers of the Fleur de Lis.

Many are curiously Gallicized. Transformations

have been verified of Sylvain for O'Sullivan, de la Haye for Leahy, d'Alet for Daly, Riel for Reilly, Mainguy for Magee, Halles for Healy, de Lery for O'Leary; and Teague Conor O'Brennan became Tec Corneille Aubry. O'Gallagher's French disguise was harder to unmask. The architect of New Orleans' finest buildings of a century ago, including Gallier Court that enshrined his name, though long vaunted as a Creole genius, proves to have been a full-blooded native Gael. Born in Ireland of "Wild Geese" parents who had returned from France, he retained their Gallicization of Gallagher to Gallier. These and Irish names of Colonial French provenance are still prominent in the Creole stock of Louisiana, and at least one, Rev. W. Moran or Morand, S.J., is discernible among the Jesuit missionary group which, from 1726 to 1763, evangelized the Indian tribes of the central South with a sacrificial and comprehensive thoroughness that parallels their best achievements elsewhere, but which history has strangely overlooked.[1] It is specially pleasing to record that when the Jesuits of the far-flung Louisiana missions were cruelly despoiled and expelled in 1763 by the New Orleans Voltairian Council, the one magnate who was bold enough to brave the ruling tide and hospitably receive them was Le Sieur Macarty.

The simultaneous cession of western Louisiana to Spain brought Irish influence, civil and religious, into prominence. The Council that illegally expelled the Jesuits also organised a revolt against Spain, while secretly treating for delivery of Louisiana to the English, to whom the same treaty had ceded the Floridas. Then came a Spanish Governor who executed the five traitorous leaders, established with unbroken order a system of laws and economics that formed the basis of all subsequent development, exacted from his officials (mainly French) an oath of belief in the Immaculate Conception, and gave a much needed stimulus to religious life. This

[1] *Catholic Culture in Alabama* outlines their work and fate pages 11 to 24.

was Captain-General Count Alexander O'Reilly of Meath, who with Marquis O'Farrell, his nephew and successor in the later governorship of Cuba, built up the organism that enabled Governor Galvez in 1780 to wrest Mobile and Florida from the British and, in uniting the whole Gulf Coast regions under Spain, to turn the tide in favour of Washington's armies of Independence. These armies were furnished with necessary moneys and supplies at critical junctures by an Irish Protestant in New Orleans, Oliver Pollock,[1] a merchant ship-owner who, enriched by tariff exemptions granted him by O'Reilly, sacrificed his wealth and prospects to the American Cause and, though poorly requited by the government he helped to establish, won the richer compensation of O'Reilly's faith.

Meanwhile the faith was faring badly in the Floridas. The treaties of 1763 had delivered to England the French and Spanish territories east of the Mississippi, and the guarantees of religious freedom enacted therein were trampled on. What Irish blood entered at this period consisted mainly of immigrants or their offspring drafted into the occupying forces, and therefore shared in the trampling. This was mostly negative, for the expulsion of the Jesuits had left the whole region priestless, except occasionally in Mobile and St. Augustine, and the few Indians among the convert tribes who had not followed the French beyond the Mississippi, relapsed untended into barbarism. A few Irish names helped to keep the faith flickering, until in 1780 they received reinforcement.

Irish officers and soldiers assisted Galvez in the reconquest, and he appointed one of them, Count Arthur O'Neill, governor of Pensacola controlling the Florida peninsula. O'Reilly's declaration of faith in *la Purissima Concepcion* again conditioned eligibility to office, and under that title was reopened, 1780, the church of Mobile, probably the first dedicated to the Immaculate Conception—certainly, in 1829, our first Cathedral of the

[1] For an account of Oliver Pollock see STUDIES, Dec. 1929.

Immaculate Conception. It was a happy coincidence that countrymen of O'Reilly and of the dogma's protagonist, Duns Scotus, were chosen to be its ministers.

To meet the demands of the growing English-speaking element pastors were needed who commanded English as well as Spanish and French, and the King of Spain, probably at the suggestion of O'Reilly, met the triple need by drafting Irish priests from Salamanca, who had been smuggled out of Ireland to train abroad. These Irish volunteers relit the torch in every centre from St. Augustine to New Orleans. Father Constantine McKenna rebuilt the Church in Mobile, and Fathers Lambert and Lennon maintained the line of service long after the Spaniards had departed. Father O'Reilly ministered under Governor O'Neill at Pensacola until transferred to St. Augustine, where a fine monument commemorates him in elegant Latinity. Fathers Crosby, Coleman and Hassett helped him to replant in Florida the seeds of faith the British had ruthlessly uprooted; Fathers White and Savage held charge of Natchez on the north-western boundary, while Fathers Barry and Wallis ranged from Georgia to Mississippi; and in New Orleans of Franco-Spanish exclusiveness Bishop Penalver, departing with Spanish rule, committed the governing authority of his immense diocese to two Irish Salamancans, Vicars-General Hassett and Walsh. Dr. Patrick Walsh was sole Vicar at the transference of Louisiana to the United States; and it was under his firm and wise direction that, despite schism and dissension, Archbishop Carroll of Baltimore took over the rudderless South.

National and jurisdictional reactions and other lamentable hindrances kept it rudderless during the foundational periods of successive acquisitions from Spain. It was only in 1829 that the entire region was parcelled into three bishoprics, of which the third, Mobile, covering 109,000 square miles, had not one permanent pastor and but some 7,500 Catholics. Two-thirds of

these were of French or Spanish derivation; yet among the settlers and moulders of the new states there is evidence of many times that number of Irish Catholic ancestry. Of these, few were natives of Ireland, the main body being descendants near or remote of Irish progenitors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when there was large immigration or deportation to America.

There was a transplantation from Cork to Virginia in 1621, followed by "great multitudes of people"—"religious exiles, political rebels, serving men sold for a term of service [redemptioners], apprentices, children stolen, maidens pressed"—and others, including "tories and convicts," transported by merchant vessels plying regularly to Dublin, Cork, Baltimore, Galway and other Irish harbours from the Delaware river, Charleston, and numerous Atlantic ports for a century preceding the Revolution. British policy of slave deportation, with spoliation and starvation, following successive crushed uprisals; the colonial need of serving men and women, artisans and cultivators of the wilds; the greed of ship captains supplying "redemptioners" to the planters at so much per head; the bait of wide acres promised to the adventurous—that these, with other causes, kept constant the flood of Gael and Gall to the South as well as North Atlantic coasts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is demonstrated by Mr. O'Brien with scientific accuracy.

Culled from port and custom house entries, state archives, records of colonial land offices, county courts and registrars of wills and deeds; from town books and minutes, newspapers, army muster rolls, town and county and state histories and numerous other original records of early immigrants, the vast array of distinctive Irish names that emerge will astonish those who get their history from Puritan tradition. Yet their gleaner can show that numerous English names, adopted by necessity or policy, also represent Gaelic Catholic stock, and Mr. O'Brien's exclusion of these, except when positively

identified, fortifies his thirty-eight per cent. estimate of Irish enrolments in the armies of the Revolution.

These included Protestants in much the same proportion as in the homeland, mainly Presbyterians who, inflamed by like grievances against English rule then penalizing them at home, were "United Irishmen" at heart and fraternized with their Catholic countrymen as "Friendly Sons of St. Patrick" through the Revolution and after; but Archbishop Carroll's statement that "the American army swarmed with Catholic soldiers" confirms the evidence of names that the Irish of the old faith were the dominant element. Agriculturists for the most part, they settled in the Shanandoah and Cumberland valleys, streaming down through Virginia to the Carolinas and Georgia. Pioneering westward to Kentucky and Tennessee, they were joined by escaped "redemptioners" and other "papists and convicts", and the advertisements published by their owners that "they spoke no English" or "they spoke Gaelic, French and Latin," have instructive implications.

In "The Lost Tribes of the Irish in the South," which bristles with evidence of personal research, Irving Cobb insists that not only were the pioneers of Kentucky and Tennessee and the dominant civil and military builders of these and neighbouring states Irish by blood or birth, but that their descendants form fifty per cent. of the population, and from them the Old South derived her chivalry and loyalty. He holds too that in the main they were "Irish-Irish" Catholic in origin; yet he and they, with few exceptions, are Protestant to-day.

This sad result seldom issued from conscious apostasy. Except in Philadelphia and the Maryland manors, where a semi-furtive Catholic ministry was barely tolerated, priests were rigidly excluded from the colonies. All marriages had to be performed in Protestant churches, and the "redemptioners," "convicts," etc., usually had none but Protestants to marry, for the female Irish were

mostly girls who were forcibly deported in thousands for the benefit of the Protestant Colonists of the Atlantic coast and the West Indies. This, with all Catholic service and instruction shut out, made the Protestantizing of their children in a virulently Protestant atmosphere naturally inevitable. Moreover, religion was then taken in deadly earnest by the dominant sectaries, who talked and thought in terms of their tenets, so that English became a proselytizing medium against which the progeny of mixed marriages had no Gaelic to guard them; and the published name-lists prove such marriages the rule.

In the few instances where Gaelic held, the faith held also. Some ninety Irish, escaping in 1672 from the Barbadoes, where Irish deportees were long being bought and sold by thousands, settled with other Irish in South Carolina and, preserving their Gaelic, preserved the faith for generations till priests and liberty arrived. Their leader, Teague Cantey, has a staunch Catholic descendant in distant Texas who memorised in boyhood his prayers and Catechism in the traditional Gaelic; and it is his proud boast that the scattered members of that stock kept the faith untainted in their wanderings.

Unhappily such favouring conditions were rarely paralleled. The mixed Irish that formed the backbone of the armies of liberty, whether with Washington or Jackson or Rogers Clark, and became the outstanding builders of the new Southern States as of the old, from Virginia to Texas, seldom inherited the faith of their Catholic forbears. In sketching the historic background of Spring Hill College, it was found that the Murphys, Barrys, Moores, Fitzpatricks, O'Neills, who formed the State of Alabama and became its first governors and senators, had all been denied their Catholic heritage in priestless communities; and other states presented variations of the same story. Sullivan's Island, S.C., has no Catholic scions of Fineen O'Sullivan, who held it, 1671; and though the Irish-named Baptists of Sullivan's Hollow,

Mississippi, have preserved the crosses, beads, etc., of their ancestors, they know not their meaning. The like is true of an O'Neal district in that state, but another ancient Irish settlement near Biloxi is Catholic to the core. Here the priest had come in time.

Social influences entered into the lapse of not a few. There are widely scattered Butlers, descendants of the five general officers of the revolution, whose father, Colonel Pierce Butler of Kilkenny, had fought under Sarsfield; and the only Catholics their line can now claim are such converts as the late Senator Marion Butler of South Carolina. The same is true of the descendants of General Moylan,[1] friend and adviser of Washington, and of the Virginia McCarthys, his family connections, and of not a few O'Briens, Burkes, O'Connors, McGuires, O'Sheals, O'Sullivans, and other early Irish of social and political standing whose sons and daughters married into ruling Episcopalian families. In view of all such facts and of the countless Protestants one meets who derive in part from Irish Catholic stock, the much controverted estimate of Bishop England, that there were three and a quarter million lapses up to 1836, would not seem excessive if therein are included the mixed descendants of Irish immigrants. A century's multiplication of their progeny will supply the present calculation.

Dr. Guilday's masterly biography of John England, Bishop of Charleston, 1820-1844, perhaps the greatest ecclesiastic orator, publicist and patriot that Ireland gave or America has known, will widely supplement this sketch and trace the progressive steps in the period of recovery. Journalistic protagonist in O'Connell's fight for veto-less emancipation, Dr. England expounded the American Constitution and Catholic doctrine in lectures and writings that won the ear of the nation and, despite harrying hostility, put new heart and cohesion into the Catholic body; and in the *Miscellany* magazine he founded and

[1] For an account of General Moylan see STUDIES, Sept., 1930.

issued single-handed, he left a perpetual armoury of brilliant Catholic defence. With prudent zeal and giant toil he set the lines of diocesan development, and he mustered others to take the torch from the dying hands of their compatriots of Salamanca. He was ably seconded by Bishop Portier of Mobile, who established in 1830 a seminary at Spring Hill College, from whose graduate rolls a goodly proportion of Irish blood has been enlarging for a century the clergy and laity of the Southland.

The Forty-seven Famine and its sad sequel enriched Catholic life in the South. Employed on the railroad and canals being then under construction, these staunch exiles, equipped with the doctrinal and mental training of the illegal schools that Father Corcoran's erudition and patriotic painstaking has illustrated in *Catholic Lay Teachers in the Penal Times*, proved stout defenders and worthy exemplars of their faith, forming a Catholic nucleus in every centre and frequently rising from humble toil to leadership in civil life. It was then that "Irish" so commonly supplanted "Catholic" in Southern parlance that Bishop Verot of Savannah inserted in his diocesan catechism the question: "Are the Irish the only members of the Catholic Church?"

An Irish Bishop now rules in Savannah, and prelates of the same blood occupy sixteen of the twenty sees that have grown from the three of Dr. England's day, and two of the three Southern archbishoprics; and the convents, hospitals, orphanages and multiple teaching and charitable institutions are staffed and governed in like racial predominance. But not in racial spirit. It is Irish Sisters that conduct the numerous schools for negroes in Mobile diocese, as mainly elsewhere, and a Sisterhood established for the exclusive apostolate of Indians and negroes received this year twenty-seven novices from Ireland, with more numerous natives of like parentage.

The ubiquitous Irish infusion has reacted fruitfully on other races. It initiated and fostered the strong religious

renovation of the manhood of New Orleans and French Louisiana, long noted for its laxity, and a son of Irish parents now governs that flourishing archdiocese. There the first public monument erected to a woman in America presents "Margaret of New Orleans" surrounded by children reaching joyously for gifts from her outstretched hands. She was a simple Irishwoman, Margaret Hogarty, who devoted all the income of a prosperous business, and finally its capital, to the orphans and helpless of New Orleans and to the support and endowment of the Sisters' Homes she established for their care. In assuming a large part of God's work in the Southland, the Irish are compensating for the sad lapses of other days.

These lapses were not altogether loss. Filched of their faith, the lapsed Irish retained much of the ancestral character it had moulded. They were not only foremost in the fight for freedom, but also in infusing its spirit into the American Constitution and maintaining it. A recent authority declares that "the Irish immigrants produced the largest proportion of teachers in our American civilisation"; and the over one thousand Irish school-masters of pre-revolutionary days, who next to the Irish priests had felt the venom of the Penal Laws, strewed the seeds that fruited into religious and constitutional liberty. It was the Irish, too, who upheld Jefferson and Jackson in their generous policies of social and economic freedom against the oligarchic and pro-British Federal parties, and thus kept democracy in flower. They fought with equal fervour for their view of it, with the South as with the North, in the war of Secession; and Russell's famous London *Times* eulogy of the heroic charge of Meagher's Irish Brigade at Fredericksburg could be dramatically heightened, had he known that it was a Southern Irish regiment that presented equally heroic and triumphant resistance.

MICHAEL KENNY.

THE RICH MAN AND THE NEEDLE'S EYE

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

WHEN slump comes after boom in the course of the trade cycles, nothing experiences deeper depression than the reputations of captains of industry and wizards of finance. Kreuger, internationally idolized as the greatest of all financial geniuses, commits suicide and is discovered to be a gross swindler. The head of the "Insull Utilities Empire" in the United States, the controller of a capital of 1,500 million dollars, is a fugitive from the police. Clarence Hatry, England's post-war pioneer of "rationalization," is a convict; and Lord Kylsant, who from one only of his chairmanships drew remuneration as high as £48,000 in a year, has passed through prison. The statement occasionally appears in the press that Henry Ford is the only multi-millionaire in the United States who is credited by public opinion with having obtained his fortune without recourse to anti-social means. But is the Ford fortune not really open to some criticism?

Admittedly it is not easy for an outsider to judge Henry Ford and his works, especially the largest of them in Detroit. The published evidence is hopelessly conflicting; there is the most widespread story which describes him as the model employer, and there is another which represents his workers as slaves of the conveyer belt driven at an inhuman pace, with foremen to "fire" those who slow up, and with secret service agents to "fire" any whose walk or talk or look is thought suggestive of subversive opinions. There is a certain amount of public knowledge of Ford Policies of which there can be no doubt. He pays exceedingly high wages, which is good; but he throws men on to the streets ruthlessly when they

cannot earn him profits, which is bad. Those firms that pay moderate wages but endeavour to keep their men in employment during slack times are more socially-minded than Ford, even though they do not have publicity departments to broadcast their theories of efficiency and welfare. Detroit has had the reputation of being the most distressed of American cities during the depression, not because of the greatness of the unemployment there, but because of the meagreness of the relief. Hans Wantoch, in a very able and, I believe, perfectly sincere book not emanating from a publicity department, says of Ford: "He has proved that work will keep the working classes contented; he has succeeded in producing an era of peace and in abolishing class warfare; he has founded a real community of workers and has shown up as absolute nonsense the theory that capital and labour must regard each other as enemies. There has never been a strike in the Ford factories."[1] Herr Wantoch wrote before March, 1932, when thousands of disgruntled workers, calling themselves hunger marchers, paraded against the Ford works in Detroit. Ford, like other great American capitalists, has his own armed private police. These were insufficient, though they used tear gas bombs, to keep back the marchers. State police came as reinforcements, and the marchers were fired upon, four being killed and between fifty and a hundred wounded.

The fortune of £200,000,000 attributed to Ford is stupendous. Divide it by 20 or even by 200 and it remains a debatable question whether such a fortune can ever be amassed by any man who observes the laws of justice and charity. "The ways to enrich are many, and most of them are foul," remarked Lord Bacon, who brought about his own downfall by corruptly receiving money when he held the highest judicial office in England. Ford is quite exceptional in having made his money by manufacture.

[1] Wantoch: *Magnificent Money-Makers*, p. 241. (Desmond Harmsworth, 1932, 21s.).

The very big fortunes are nearly always made by Stock Exchange operations and company promotions, especially merger promotions. The lucky finding of rich goldmines, oilfields and other natural sources of wealth, the prospecting for which is much like a lottery, is rarely enough to bring a seven-figure fortune. Cecil Rhodes, at the age of eighteen, realized that there was more profit in buying and selling digging rights in the diamond region than in taking a pick and spade and digging himself. At the age of twenty-one he had begun his successful effort to form a combine of all the diamond producers. Without the combine the value of diamonds would have fallen very low indeed. Similarly with inventions : when they yield great wealth it is through their shrewd exploitation, which usually means cleverness in securing a position of monopoly. Inheritances apart, vast fortunes do not fall into men's laps ; they are acquired by deliberate acts. We come back to the question whether they can be made justly.

Herr Wantoch's book contains a score of studies of a wide range of characters, beginning with the banking-house of the Medici and ending with Ivar Kreuger. It is a well-written book, and the judgements are intelligent, though they do not always command agreement. The most uncritical reader, who may not feel qualified to check the author's assertions about the Fuggers, for instance, will be put on his guard against the rest of the book by the unlucky last chapter on Kreuger. Here Kreuger is idealized, for it was written before the criminality of the Swedish financier had been revealed. The publishers of the English edition of *Magnificent Money-Makers* have shown courage in letting it appear unexpurgated. On our question of the justice of the methods by which great fortunes are made the book throws very little light. The author's ethical standpoint is not that of the Gospels. He has none of the Christian distrust of wealth ; he goes curiously out of his way to glorify the Renaissance, which

he surprisingly identifies with a Puritan devotion to work. Without the author intending it in the least, *Magnificent Money-Makers* is a demonstration of the deceitfulness of riches. With few exceptions, the magnificent money-makers lived mournful lives. I may take the last seven chapters in the book as a sample of the whole. One of the seven subjects, Henry Ford, may have a reasonably happy life for all we know to the contrary. We know that Kreuger's life ended in tragedy, and the other five are shown by Herr Wantoch to have had grisly skeletons in their golden cupboards. Siemens, the German telegraph king, wrote at the age of fifty : " I seem to be lacking in energy. Wealth and honour have lost their old attraction for me, and science appears to be my only interest. Even for that the old incentive has gone. Alfred Nobel, the explosives magnate, " did not live his life, he suffered it." Cecil Rhodes was tolerably happy, perhaps because money was always desired by him only as a means, not an end ; but the chapter devoted to him mentions the multi-millionaire Barney Barnato going mad and committing suicide. Rathenau did not like business life, and moreover he was not outstanding as a money-maker. August Thyssen, German ironmaster, " gave himself up wholly to his work ; for it he sacrificed marriage, domestic peace and the happiness of his family."

Herr Wantoch's subjects are men who count as more than money-makers. He has made his selections because of the parts they have played in the economic history of the world. Wallenstein, Richard Arkwright and Cobden are in his gallery, but not a single American except Henry Ford : not John Jacob Astor, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jay Gould or J. Pierpont Morgan. Yet the fortunes made in America dwarf those made in Europe, not because Americans are abler than Europeans, or less scrupulous, or more intent on chasing the almighty dollar, but because the rapid development of new centres of industry and population in the nineteenth century gave the Americans

opportunities not presented in Europe. In the twentieth century the largest fortunes have been made out of the War and new industries. The film business gives examples not only of fabulous fortunes derived from investments, but of the earning of enormous salaries. Some film directors are said to have been paid £50,000 a year at Hollywood, and the "star" performers have done even better, if newspaper statements are to be believed. No one supposes that the earning powers of Greta Garbo and Charlie Chaplin are a measure of their artistic merit. They simply happen to have the gifts that best please the hundreds of millions of people throughout the world who frequent the cinemas. A million pounds may easily be paid to see a single film that retains great popularity for a period of time, and therefore the most popular artistes can name almost their own terms as remuneration for their services.

It is not drastically different with extraordinary earning powers in other spheres. Not to mention best-sellers amongst novelists, let us take the incomes of leaders of the Bar. There is one lawyer in England, still in public life though not practising, who was credited with earnings of from £50,000 to £100,000 a year. He is undoubtedly a man of supreme intellectual and forensic ability, but probably only a shade superior to men who had not a tenth of his earning power. The superiority, such as it was, might only be a more ingratiating manner with juries, but it would be sufficient to make all the difference. Solicitors would always try to brief him in preference to the next best man, and they would offer him larger and larger fees. In these days the amounts of money that are concerned in the issue of litigation so frequently run into tens and hundreds of thousands that the difference between paying a leading counsel £500 and £5,000 is almost immaterial.

What we have said suggests that extraordinary fortunes are due more to favourable external circumstances

than to extraordinary personal abilities. The same reasoning goes far to relieve the possessors of great fortunes from the presumption of extraordinary wickedness. The evidence may point to wickedness being the rule among money-makers, but it is ordinary wickedness. Thyssen, who "gave himself up wholly to his work—for it he sacrificed marriage, domestic peace and the happiness of his family"—only did what the multitude of small money-makers must do. The rewards of Mammon are not paid without hard service of Mammon. Even the film stars do not get their money solely for their charm and beauty and humour; they must pander to tastes that are often vicious. "Give the public what they want" is the rule of all who are out for the public's money. This is quite ordinary wickedness. Grinding avarice and the sacrifice of moral scruple can be found among those making small and moderate incomes as well as among the millionaires. This may be said without any extenuation of wickedness in high places, and without minimising the social desirability of cutting the claws of the bigger vultures when cutting is possible.

On whom do the vultures prey? One well-known episode in financial history may be recalled to illustrate the complexity of the question. Andrew Carnegie had built up a steel business which was already gigantic by the standards of the time. It produced steel ingots and left to others the more advanced stages of manufacture. Over-production and cut-throat competition were features of the American steel situation at the end of the nineteenth century. Carnegie was aggrieved by an invasion of what he considered his territory, the ingot field, by other steel firms. He threatened to retaliate by building plant for finished steel products. It was known he was able to make good his word, and his competitors were thrown into alarm. It was then that the idea of trustifying the American steel industry was launched, and Pierpont Morgan undertook the formation of the United States

Steel Corporation, consolidating hundreds of different enterprises, the Carnegie concern among them. Morgan represented financial interests that shuddered at the prospective effects of a steel war on the general security market, and he was ready to buy peace at almost any price. Carnegie and his associates were thus able to sell their property for 303½ million dollars in bonds of the U.S. Steel Corporation *plus* stock of a par value of 200 million dollars. Carnegie personally received 218 million dollars.

Morgan paid extorted money to avoid a steel war; but it can be said for Carnegie that, if he had declared war, he would not have been the aggressor; competitors had invaded his territory first. Did Carnegie act unjustly in squeezing the last million out of Morgan or the U.S. Steel Corporation? Of course the money really came from all who held stock in the corporation which was floated in 1901 with a capital of over 1,000 million dollars in shares and 300 million dollars in bonds. It had to carry loads of water because of the huge price exacted by Carnegie. By good management and good luck the water was pumped out, and the corporation became able to pay reasonable dividends.

Another question that an economist may refer to the moralist is what should be a fair remuneration to the Morgan firm for putting through a deal of such magnitude. "The promoting syndicate made a profit of 62½ million dollars; the firm of Morgan, which played the leading part, received a fixed sum of 12½ million dollars and also a percentage of the remainder. Some 150 million dollars worth of stock of the Trust went to promoters and underwriters."[1] The methods employed in such a flotation present problems in casuistry. There was manipulation of the Stock Exchange not only by getting brokers to recommend the stock to their clients, but by rigging the market. The aims of the riggers were to lift prices and to make the

[1] Liefmann: *Cartels, Concerns and Trusts*, p. 309.

stock "active," that is, one in which dealings were frequent so as to make a free market. Investors are naturally attracted to a stock which can be bought and sold with the uttermost readiness. The manipulators for Morgan therefore arranged buying and selling themselves. The buyers and sellers were the same people, the transactions were faked and the prices artificial, though they were actually available to any person who wanted to deal. In the event the stock proved good, and those who bought had no reason to repent their bargains; but if the waterlogged craft had sunk, would our moral judgement of the Morgan tactics be different?

The administrators of Kreuger's bankrupt estate declared him to be not a great man of business, but only a criminal. He died with liabilities of £58½ millions against assets less than £5 millions. A man who fails to the extent of eleven pence in the shilling is a failure pretty complete. Yet even after he had become a suicide, the financial authorities of the world were still regarding Kreuger as the greatest constructive genius of the age. He moved hundreds of millions of pounds across the world from countries that had capital to spare to those where it was in urgent demand. He was doing by himself what the League of Nations sighed over its inability to do. He was hailed by the idealists and intellectuals as the great constructive exponent of international economic co-operation. The money he lent to governments he raised from the investing public on the credit of his companies. It can no longer be said in his excuse that he was a victim of the "economic blizzard"; for as early as 1926 his balance sheets were forged. One lesson of his career is that the financial world, including the great banks, are easily fooled.

No purpose would be served by denouncing here admitted criminalities which nobody defends. The useful thing would be to suggest ways of preventing them. What made Kreuger's swindles possible was the present-day

system of holding and subsidiary companies. The system not only involves highly centralized control of immense enterprises, but it facilitates secrecy of accounts and allows infinite scope for financial juggling. Indeed it is for these reasons that the system is adopted on all hands to-day. It is judged to be conducive to commercial success. There is no reason for thinking that the system is generally abused if we judge by current business standards. Questions of the reform of company law are among the most complicated of legal and economic problems. The trouble which legislators experience is in making safeguards against abuses which will not hinder legitimate enterprise at the same time.

A Catholic student would not judge business practices only by what happen to be current business standards. We may well ask whether many of the legalities as well as illegalities of such men as Kreuger should not be prevented in the interests of justice and social welfare. Hans Wantoch tells us that when Kreuger formed his original American company: "Ostensibly its main object was to speculate in land and house property, and it proposed to use American money for purchasing real estate in the inflationist countries, particularly France and Germany. In actual fact, it wormed its way into the American match business, buying now here, now there, under all sorts of aliases for the parent concern, the Swedish Match Company." To disguise operations in business is often legitimate; to aim at a monopoly may be legitimate, but I think that a private monopoly obtained by such means will rarely be in the public interest. If there are to be monopolies, their formation, as well as their operation, should (I think) be under public scrutiny and regulation to prevent such evils as over-capitalization.

The banking practice of making loans for Stock Exchange speculation has even more responsibility than the modern system of company finance for facilitating the plunder of investors. The great financial swindlers

are always speculators ; they begin as speculators, and it is when their gambles go wrong that they resort to fraud. Their speculations would be very limited if they were not able to utilize the ordinary credit system. This applies to the small as well as to the large speculators. The great boom in Wall Street of 1928 and thereabouts could never have reached such dizzy heights, if it had not been for buying " on margin "—that is, buying with borrowed money. It is true that the Federal Reserve banking authorities did their best to restrict lending to Wall Street, but their efforts were stultified by other greedy lenders supplying the market.

A curious fact of some significance is that there is a tendency among business men to judge leniently the swindles that land a big financier into prison. There are people who knew Hatry who will speak as if he did nothing worse than " make a mistake " when driven into a corner through stress of circumstances. Now Hatry's crime was the forging of share certificates and other scrip which were sold on the market or pledged with lenders as collateral. The money he raised by such means he wanted for the purpose of " supporting the market " in his various securities. He and his associates raised as much as £2½ millions by documents of title which were impugned at the trial, and it was shown that some of the biggest banks had advanced money to Hatry on the strength of this dishonest paper. The lenient judgement of such malpractices is due to a feeling that as Hatry was accustomed to manufacture scrip which had a value only because it was believed to have a value, that is to say, its value was speculative, he was only crossing a very thin line when he duplicated certificates for shares issued—he was, in fact, only adding another drop of water to the stock of his companies, and he was doing it to keep up the market value of the stock. Similarly, when he borrowed from a bank, depositing a forged bond as collateral, his intention would be to redeem the bogus document when he had got

over temporary difficulties. Probably he was not taking any fresh money from the bank, but only renewing a loan for which he had to put up increased collateral, which he did by means of forged scrip. The bank was not making any present sacrifice, even if it did lend new money, for a bank is supposed, with a certain degree of accuracy, to create money by the mere act of lending.

This leniency towards criminality such as Hatry's is not logically inconsistent for the minds that accept as legitimate and right the ordinary business of such as Hatry—the manufacture of speculative securities for sale to the public at a profit to himself, and the artificial manipulation of the prices of such securities by Stock Exchange rigging. There is a difference between the manufacture of speculative securities for Stock Exchange operations, which was Hatry's business, and the issue of securities for the purpose of financing a useful industrial enterprise. An example, familiar to investors, of the difference between the two is afforded by those mining companies which are formed, in market parlance, "to mine the public" rather than the earth. The company does indeed make the show of digging a hole in the ground, though the insiders have little hope of raising valuable minerals. They get their profit not from the minerals they produce, but from the shares they sell to investors. "Mining the public" is also practised in connection with really productive mines because the prices of the shares are moved up and down by market manipulation, so that outsiders are lured into buying "high" or selling "low." In a legitimate flotation of public securities the primary object is the provision of necessary capital, and the speculativeness of the securities is only incidental and is kept to the minimum. In the Hatry type of operation the creation of securities to serve as speculative counters is itself a primary object, or the speculativeness is maximised by the terms of issue or by subsequent market "management."

The *Quadregesimo Anno* quotes St. Thomas in praise of industrial enterprises for " results which are really useful." The test of social utility, and not merely of private profit, should be applied in our judgement of economic acts. On this ground we must seriously question the ordinary practice of the banks in giving credit for Stock Exchange speculation. A bank credit creates a claim on the labour and other economic resources of the community, not simply a claim on the resources of the bank. It is an economic principle that a bank loan tends to raise the prices of goods and services generally by increasing the demands upon them. Hence in a very special way the administration of bank credit is a social function, and a bank has no right to make profits in ways detrimental to society as a whole. There are certain times when banks think it necessary to adopt a policy of deflation, and they then refuse to lend for the purchase of speculative securities. It would, therefore, be perfectly practicable for them to observe this self-denying ordinance at all times; and if they did so, they would do much towards avoiding the inflation which necessitates subsequent deflation. The buyers of securities, even when they are small investors, are not to be regarded entirely as innocent victims. More than a few of those who dabble in the wrong sort of securities are greedy or foolish speculators themselves. All of us who apply labour or capital should be directed by the consideration not only of pecuniary return but of " results which are really useful." Only when there is right motive may the miracle be possible of passing through the needle's eye.

H. Somerville

KARL MARX

1818–1883

BY EDWARD J. COYNE, S.J.

KARL MARX died on March 14, 1883.[1] The fiftieth anniversary of his death finds a world which would arouse in him probably considerable satisfaction and pride combined with some puzzled annoyance. Russia under Bolshevik rule is what it is to-day mainly owing to Marx's influence—though, strangely, in spite of his theories. Lenin and Stalin, even Marx would have to admit, were "windfalls" not to be reckoned on in the first fifty or sixty years of Socialism. But then, on the other hand, it was hardly more than a chance that Mussolini and Hitler put themselves at the head of black-shirts and brown-shirts, and are not leading a "red" Italy and a "red" Germany to-day. And at any rate the Social Democratic Party in Germany can by itself rally to a substantially Marxian programme and policy well over 8,000,000 voters—nearly a quarter of the German electors—and numbers a million party-members and disposes of an annual income of £750,000. In Austria "red" Vienna is inspired by Marxian ideas and ideals, and has been for now nearly fifteen years an experimental and propagandist centre second only to Moscow itself. A sixth of the adult population of Catholic Austria and 40 per cent. of the electors of Vienna are solid for socialism. In France a fifth of the electors vote steadily for M. Blum and give him a party of some 150, not counting the communists and other socialistically inclined deputies.

[1] The standard biography of Marx is that of F. Mehring. For his system:—Cathrein's *Der Sozialismus*; Brauer's *Der Moderne deutsche Sozialismus* (1929); Steinbüchel's *Der Sozialismus als sittliche Idee* (1923)—all Catholic. From the non-Catholic side, Sombart's *Der proletarische Sozialismus* is the standard scientific work on Marxism.

And so on in nearly every country in the world communist and socialist parties are to be found owing, if not the details of their actual programmes, certainly their inspiration, *élan*, and general direction of their policy to Marx and his writings.

Moreover, this organised political canalisation of Marx's influence is only a very weak reflection of the power he exercises over masses of working-men and women the world over. It is hardly too much to say that the "labour-movement" to-day—whether political, with its parties, or syndicalist, with its trade unions, "internationals," and direct action, or confusedly but frankly revolutionary—draws its force from two cardinal propositions of Marx: (1) that class warfare, either in an economic or military form, is a natural and fatal necessity; (2) that the perfect "future-state" does exist, but exists only on the other side of a successfully waged class-war and a complete social and economic revolution, bloody or peaceful as circumstances may dictate. In place of the one dreaded but rather futile "International"[1] which Marx knew, there are in this fiftieth anniversary year two political and three syndicalist "Internationals"[2] of a spectroscopic variety, but all definitely socialistic or Marxian. They quarrel among themselves, it is true; but for all that each claims that it was Marx's call—"Proletarians of the world, unite!"—that has brought it into existence; between them they represent something like 30,000,000 organised members.

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[1] The First International (Assoc. Intern. des Travailleurs) founded in London 28 Sept. 1864, dissolved at Philadelphia, 1876.

[2] The two political are: (i.) Internationale Ouvrière Socialiste, founded by a union of the old second International and the Union of Socialist Parties (Vienna) at Hamburg in May 1923: seat at London. (ii.) The Third International: The Communist or Red International (Comintern) of Moscow.

The three Syndicalist are: (i.) The old pre-war Federation Internationale Syndicale, reconstituted in July 1919 at Amsterdam, but now at Berlin (The "Yellow" International, as the Bolsheviks call it). (ii.) The Alliance Internationale des Travailleurs, founded as a result of the breakdown of the "Conference of the three Internationals" at Berlin, 1922:—the "pink" International (Berlin). (iii.) The Internationale Syndicale Rouge—Profintern, at Moscow. There are, as well, two other Internationals, both syndicalist: the Christian and the Independent, both at Utrecht.

Indirectly, the International Labour Office at Geneva, supported by contributions from all the great capitalistic countries, is the very un-Marxian result of the growing importance of "labour questions." Indirectly, too, the two Papal Encyclicals and the spread of the serious study of social problems are due to circumstances for which Marx is largely responsible. At the present moment, an unprecedented economic crisis is causing even the most conservative economists and sociologists to declare (a little prematurely perhaps) that the "capitalistic system" has broken down, and broken down for precisely those reasons which Marx said must ultimately and necessarily lead to its collapse. The last "credit reform" theory but one echoed, unconsciously it seems, the substance of Marx's criticism contained in Book II of *Das Kapital*. The theories of Marx have, of course, been riddled and exploded time and again by friend and foe. There is hardly a single point of his doctrine which has not been conclusively proved false on paper and by experience. This would probably annoy him: for he was inclined to be a little irritable about such matters. But it would not convince him that he had lived and worked in vain. His influence on the last fifty years has been enormous and progressive; few, if any, statesmen in the same period —Gladstone or Bismarck, for instance—have produced such permanent effects. It is by no means certain that his influence on the next fifty years will be any less powerful.

II

Marx was born at Trier on 5 May, 1818. His father was a Jew, and his grandfather and remoter ancestors had been Rabbis in Trier, where the family had long been settled. Marx's mother was a Dutch lady, descended (it seems) from a Hungarian-Jewish rabbinical family of Pressburg, which had found its way to the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. She does not seem to have

been altogether appreciative of her son's life-work; for he tells us that her comment on his famous book was: "It would have been better to have made a little capital than to have written about it." When Karl was six years old his father, mother and the whole family became Protestants, an event in Karl's life for which he can hardly be praised or blamed. The family were in a good social and financial position: the father was a successful lawyer, no admirer of Napoleon, and a loyal subject of Prussia.

Marx was educated at the "Gymnasium" at Trier, which he attended till he was seventeen years old. But his father took care to introduce him to Voltaire's writings and French culture in general even before the boy was old enough to go to school. In addition, all through his schooldays he was a devoted hero-worshipper of an old gentleman, a friend of his father, holding a high official position in Trier. Ludwig von Westfalen used to have the boy to his house constantly to read Homer and Shakespeare with him and to help him in acquiring a liberal education. Marx had known the daughter of his old friend practically all his and her life, and before he left Trier to continue his studies at Berlin, he and Jenny von Westfalen had become engaged. Their love for one another and for their three daughters[1] and the happiness of their family life light up a side of Marx's character which is rarely stressed.

His father wished Karl to become a lawyer and sent him in 1835 to Bonn to begin his university studies. But the attraction of Berlin, where Hegel had died only a few years earlier, was too great, and in 1836 Karl was there—studying philosophy, art and history, and writing poetry, commentaries on Roman Law, and Platonic dialogues, which he burned as soon as finished. In 1838 his father died, and Marx, giving up his law studies definitely, devoted himself seriously to working for his

[1] There were three other children of the marriage, a girl and two boys, who died in infancy.

doctorate in philosophy, with a view to getting a post as lecturer in Bonn. He wrote a thesis on the philosophy of Democritus and Epicurus and was awarded his doctor's degree at the University of Jena in 1841. He failed, however, to secure a position in an university—even at this early period he was not viewed with favour in official circles. In consequence of this he became a journalist, joining a group of Rhineland liberals who had started the *Rhenish Gazette* as an organ of agitation for social reform. In 1842 he became editor of this paper; and seeing himself compelled to write on economic and social questions, he began, with characteristic German thoroughness, to study political economy and especially the theories of the French socialists. And so, by accident, Marx became Marx. He tells us himself in his introduction to his *Critique of Political Economy* that he was so disgusted with the emotional type of socialism based on no real knowledge of facts of history or economics that he readily seized the first opportunity to desert the editor's chair for the savant's study. In September 1843 he married Jenny von Westfalen, and despite this fact resisted a tempting offer to enter the Prussian civil service, though neither he nor his wife were by any means well-off. A month or two after their marriage the young couple settled down in Paris, forming part of what must have been a stimulating circle of talkers, thinkers and actors—Heinrich Heine, Bakunin the Russian anarchist, Proudhon and Cabet.

It was at this moment that Frederick Engels came into Marx's life and, probably through Engels, Feuerbach.[1] Engels was the son of a successful and wealthy textile manufacturer of Barmen. Both his father and mother (the daughter of a clergyman) were strong, almost fanatical, Calvinists, and the boy was brought up in an atmosphere of "integral Christianity" of a stern type.

[1] Feuerbach, who, with David Strauss, led the reaction in German philosophy against Hegelian Idealism, gave Marx the special form of materialism and humanitarianism which is characteristic of his system.

He was of a poetical disposition, thoughtful and sensitive, and the frightful contradiction between the principles of Christianity and the condition of the factory hands in his father's and other textile factories around Barmen very soon made him lose all faith in Christianity and in the sincerity of those who professed it. He had not the university education, the wide culture or the scientific conscientiousness of Marx, but his knowledge of social conditions and his practical experience of economics, gained while learning his father's business in Germany and Manchester, were just what Marx lacked. Moreover, he was much more hard-headed and practical than Marx —all his life long he was a very successful businessman— and at the same time much more of an idealist and a seer of visions. His friendship with Marx was marked by his unswerving loyalty, complete unselfishness and devotion, and by his tactful and generous solicitude for the material welfare of Marx and his family.[1] Engels found a substitute for Christianity in Feuerbach's book *Das Wesen des Christentums*, and Marx followed him in this. Henceforth they had only one religion, the cult of mankind: to better the condition of their fellowmen— in their own generation if possible, but at any rate in the future—was for them (and is still for their followers) the only final end man has or can have in this world. They shook themselves free from Hegelian idealism and spiritualism, but kept his doctrine of dialectic evolution. Their task now was to teach men how best to exploit this evolution from which they could not escape, but which they could guide and assist.

In 1845 Marx was expelled from France by Guizot at the request of the Prussian Government. He went

[1] Marx's life after 1849, when he gave everything he and his wife possessed to finance the revolutionary movement, was one of great poverty and hardship. He earned £1 an article, but he often had to pawn his overcoat to get money to buy the paper to write on, and his articles cost him days of research work. Engels had to be careful in offering help, as Marx was very proud; but after 1869 he accepted an allowance of almost £300 a year from Engels, in order to have leisure to finish his book.

to Brussels and remained there till 1848. During this time he published one of his important books, *La Misère de la Philosophie*, an answer to a work of his former friend,[1] Proudhon, entitled *La Philosophie de la Misère*. In January 1848 he and Engels, both now members of the Communist Party, published one of the famous documents of history, the Communist Manifesto. In February 1848 he was requested to leave Belgium, went to Paris on the invitation of the provisional Republican Government, but then returned to Germany, to Cologne, in the hope of a successful revolution there. He put all his material resources into founding a new revolutionary newspaper, which was naturally suppressed by the Prussian Government, and Marx found himself in the dock on a charge of high treason. He was not the man to let such an opportunity pass unused: he addressed the jury in a speech from the dock which was half an eloquent lecture on dialectic economic determinism and half a passionate condemnation of social injustice, and was triumphantly acquitted by his peers, but deported by his rulers. He returned to Paris, but was informed by the new Government that the only place in France where he might stay was Morbihan in Brittany. He preferred the Saxon to the Celt and went to London, where he lived with his family till his death in 1883. He was just thirty-one years old when he came to England, and for the remaining thirty-four years he devoted himself almost exclusively to a deep and prolonged study of political economy, English History, and the official reports of commissions contained in "blue books." In order to earn a scanty living he contributed articles to the New York *Tribune*, and a certain portion of his time was given to keeping in touch with the revolutionary movement. But otherwise he spent his days in the British Museum collecting the material for his great work *Das*

[1] Marx found it difficult to remain on friendly terms with those who disagreed with his views: most of his friendships were short, followed by a life-time of fierce hatred and opposition.

Kapital. In 1859 he published his *Critique of Political Economy,* an important work acting as a sort of introduction to *Das Kapital.* In 1864 the labour-representatives of France, England, Italy and Germany met in London, and the famous First International was founded. Marx, who was one of the German representatives, wrote the inaugural address and so managed to secure a wide publicity in the labour-world for his special ideas. In 1871 he was strongly opposed to the French section's plan to start "the Commune," begging the Paris labour-leaders not to commit an "act of desperate madness" by trying to revive 1792. But once the "madness" was embarked on and defeated, he defended the French workers as well as he could in his *Civil War in France.* He had published the first volume of *Das Kapital* in 1867, and during the last ten years of his life, when he was in failing health, he completed the manuscript of the second and third volumes. His wife died in 1881, and the death of his eldest daughter in January 1883 was followed a month later by his own, on March 14th—just a month after that of his great fellow-countryman, Wagner.

III

What was in the eyes of Marx himself characteristic and original in his system of socialism was that it was "scientific" as opposed to the "utopian" systems of earlier socialists. Marxism was not the result of day-dreaming and building castles in the air, but of serious study, careful observation of facts, and logical thought. His fundamental doctrine or philosophy was the doctrine of "economic determinism"[1]; all his other theories, economic and sociological, draw whatever meaning they

[1] "Economic determinism" is the system which resulted from Marx's "materialistic conception of history": this last phrase is sometimes used to denote the system itself. "Dialectic evolution" is the special (Hegelian) form of evolution which Marx thought he could find in human history: by putting the four words together one can produce a mouthful, typically German and well-suited to over-awe most workingclass audiences: "economic dialectic evolutionary determinism."

have from this basic one. According to him the human race or human society was evolving towards an "Absolute," that is towards a stable, perfect state of existence, which, looked at from the narrowly political point of view, he called the "Zukunftsstaat." This, he maintained, was the evident teaching of history: from hunters men evolved into pasturers, and then into cultivators; from self-sufficient economic units to trading communities, and so to manufacturers and so on. Each stage of the evolution was marked by a particular form of social organisation and by particular social institutions: the patriarchical, for example, the tribal, the city-state, the medieval guilds, modern class-states. Moreover each stage of evolution and each social organisation could be shown to be absolutely "determined" by the technique of production and distribution of wealth in use at the time. Thus, when men used flint hammers or axes and flint arrow-heads, it was impossible for them to have any other than a certain definite social organisation. When they learned the use of bronze and iron their technique of production changed, and inevitably, fatally, their social organisation changed too. When steam-power was discovered and machines, trains and the like began to play a part in the production of wealth, then the social organisation necessarily had to adapt itself. Human society, in short, is a natural, necessary institution owing its existence to the economic needs of man, his need of food and protection; and the evolution and changes of human society are completely determined by the same economic forces which called it into existence—the productive power of the land, the climate and especially the technique of production and distribution.

This economically determined evolution of society does not, however, take the form, more or less steady and uniform, of Darwinian biological evolution found in the organic world. It is, Marx affirmed, rather by a Hegelian "dialectic movement" that out-worn social forms and

institutions ("the Thesis") fatally call into existence opposing forms and institutions ("the Antithesis"), while from the clash and struggle of these two opposities emerges the new form ("the Synthesis"). Thus, applying this to concrete nineteenth century conditions, the industrial revolution caused a complete change in the technique, methods and direction of the production of wealth and, as a result, of its distribution and of the division of private property: an economic system arose, Capitalism. Capitalism produced (and had to produce) the individualistic bourgeois society with all its typical institutions: a sociological phenomenon—the Thesis. Bourgeois individualistic society, by its own very nature, gave rise to a "dialectic movement" which produced an opposing sociological phenomenon, the Proletariat, the Antithesis. From the resulting necessary struggle, the Class War, will inevitably and fatally emerge the Synthesis, the Future State, a collectivist system.

With all this "economic dialectic" evolutionary process the individual man has nothing to say or do: it does not depend from his free-will and he cannot prevent it taking place. The only place for his activity is found in the Class War. Marx did not consider the Class War a desirable thing in itself, as he is sometimes represented to have done. On the contrary, it was a horrible necessity, one of Nature's most terrible and puzzling phenomena, something like the struggle for life among the animals. But it was none of man's doing, he was not responsible, he was but the servant of forces he could not control or change. The best thing to do about it was to get it over as quickly as possible. The ideal of the future collectivist State should be kept vividly before the imaginations of the proletariat, the inevitability of the struggle, the certainty of victory with the irresistible forces of Nature on their side. A great love of mankind and of the future race should be awakened in their hearts, together with the resolve to save their children or their children's

children from their own present lot. Above all, the proletariat must be ready to strike at the right moment in the evolutionary process before bourgeois society can so re-fashion things that the struggle will be prolonged: to know when this moment arrives it is necessary to study the mechanism of the economic process and to trace the probable cause of the evolution of society. The rest of Marx's theory is devoted to this purpose: the working out, as it were, of the best strategy and tactics for the Class War.

The specifically economic portions of Marxism have an interest chiefly for professional economists and, perhaps, also for moralists. It is unnecessary to deal with them in detail here, but the three principal theories may be briefly outlined. Marx's theory of value was taken substantially from Ricardo: the theory that all exchange-value of manufactured goods[1] arises from human labour. For him the use-value of manufactured goods has nothing whatever to do with the exchange-value: the exchange-value is that quality which is common to goods; the use-value is that in which they are different. But the only thing common to manufactured goods is precisely that they are manufactured—that is, produced by human labour. What makes two pieces of merchandise equal in value is that each contains an equal amount of "crystallised human labour," no matter how different their chemical, physical or other qualities are. The exact measure of the value of a manufactured object is to be found in the amount of socially necessary labour-hours required to produce it—which varies in the different states of technical progress.

From this theory of value Marx drew his theory of surplus-value. The value of human-labour (considered as a piece of manufactured merchandise) is measured by the number of hours of labour required to maintain the labourer in health and replace him. In most cases in a

[1] Marx confines his theory of value to the process of production.

well-organised factory a labourer produces not only values equivalent to his own pay but surplus-values as well, which go to the owner of the factory. It is these surplus-values which enable the owner to amass capital and so expand his business. Marx did not criticise the morality of this nor abuse its injustice: he stresses the fact that the capitalist, under the present system, has got no choice but to accumulate these surplus-values.

His third specifically economic theory was the "law of the falling rate of profit." From his theory of value it followed that only "variable capital"—that is, capital used to pay wages and salaries—could produce a "surplus-value": "constant capital"—that is, fixed capital, machines, buildings, etc.—could not produce "surplus-value." Hence the greater the "variable capital" employed, the greater the amount of surplus-value which would fall into the capitalist's hands. However, technical progress, new inventions, competition would force the capitalist to employ more and more machines (fixed or "constant" capital) and proportionally less and less human labour ("variable capital"). The consequence would be that the capitalist would obtain less and less surplus-value; in other words, his rate of profit would sink. Not only would unemployment necessarily increase, but, owing to the want of proportion between human-labour and machines, the workers would not as a body receive enough in wages to be able to buy the goods produced, and hence a continuous series of economic crises would occur.

With the help of these three economic theories Marx then traced the probable course of the future evolution of society. He believed that productive enterprises would tend to grow larger and larger—gradually "concentrating," as he called it, all productive activity in huge manufacturing units and these units in trusts and cartels. Moreover, the ownership of these concentrated productive enterprises would pass into fewer and fewer

hands[1]; the ordinary shareholders of concerns would become fewer and fewer, and the real control would be in the hands of a half-dozen magnates. The need to make fixed capital pay for itself and the loss of surplus values would produce anarchy in production, probably resulting in constant over-production and at the same time under-consumption owing to unemployment. This would lead to a succession of economic crises, one more serious than the other. During one of these crises the whole machinery of capitalistic production and distribution would momentarily break down. If the proletariat recognised that moment and were prepared to exploit it in an organised way, then they could establish the transitional phase, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This transitional phase would then lead on, by means of socialisation, to the "classless society"—the collectivist State. If the proletariat missed their opportunity, capitalistic society might patch itself up and manage to last on a while longer; but its collapse was, in the long run, fated and predetermined; its own very nature would necessarily produce its own destruction.

The importance of Karl Marx lies not in where he was wrong, but in where he was right. Useful and necessary as it may be to shatter his fallacies—and those of his "revisionists," "improvers," "adapters" and the rest—it is more useful and much more fruitful to accept and develop the considerable amount of truth contained in his and their criticism of modern civilisation. His economic determinism is true to this extent, that any economic system, any technique of production and distribution will always (and more especially under a *laisser faire*

[1] To illustrate these two theories—Konzentrationstheorie and Akkumulationstheorie—Marx devoted a section of *Das Kapital* to the economic history of Ireland between 1844 and 1866 (Bk. I, Ch. XXIII, sect. V. f.). It is an excellent illustration of his method of work and his style. The last paragraph may be cited: "But this advantageous method [of making Ireland a pasture-ground for England] has, like all good things in this world, its bad side. The accumulation of land-rents in Ireland has as a corollary the accumulation of Irishmen in America. The Irishman, chased away from Ireland by the ox and the sheep, is born again on the other side of the Atlantic in the form of the Fenian. And over against the ancient 'queen of the seas,' the young giant republic draws itself up, ever more and more menacing."

policy) have an extremely important influence on the nature and growth of social and juridical institutions and conditions in a given social body. But this does not mean (as he held it to mean) that human beings are helpless to counteract, say, the evil results of the use of machinery or of credit. To wish to destroy an economic system (such as Capitalism) in order to remedy a sociological evil (such as Individualism) is, fundamentally, genuine Marxism, revealing a fear of and a faith in its root teaching of economic determinism. The really responsible Catholic solutions are not conceived in any such childish panic of economic forces. They are based on the solid truth that man has the knowledge and the power to control such forces, if he only wishes to do so. They take Pius XI's word for it that the capitalistic economic regime "is not to be condemned,"[1] and they seek to exploit all the undoubted advantages of this system, while correcting its abuses.

Karl Marx's perfect *Zukunftsstaat*, towards which man was inevitably evolving, was a community without distinction of classes: "classes" as such were unnatural and abnormal phenomena in the ideal human society. In this last he was right; and the fact that he came to shipwreck on one of the deepest mysteries of human life—the simultaneous equality and inequality of individuals and of social "states-in-life" or vocations—can hardly be wondered at. Instead of arriving at the idea of a moral organism as the true social ideal, he was led astray (chiefly it seems by his over-valuation of manual work as a social factor) into concluding that human society should and would consist of one "class," in which perfect and absolute equality would be found. In this, paradoxical as it may seem, he shows himself and his system to be as strongly individualistic as, say, classical Liberalism. What had supreme value for him in the life of man was a certain type of individual equality

[1] *Quadragesimo Anno.*

and individual liberty. To secure this equality and liberty for each individual and to prevent the re-formation of unequal social "classes," society as such must take over control of all economic activities; there must be socialisation of property[1] in so far as property would be liable to form a basis for social inequality. From the Catholic point of view social "classes"[2] are abnormal, but hierarchical, and hence unequal social "states-in-life" or vocations and a quasi-organic articulation of society based on corporative vocational organisations are natural and normal. The human being as a "person" with a personal end and destiny cannot be subordinated to society, but always ranks above it. But, on the other hand, the human being as an "individual," as a "member" (and essentially and naturally a member) of a moral organism is subordinated to that organism as a whole, *i.e.*, to society, just as a part to a whole. The problem arises from the very nature of man as being at one and the same time a "person" and "a social animal": it is the problem of combining order and unity with liberty and individuality. Man as such has his own supreme value; society as such has its: each is safeguarded in a social organisation where man achieves his personal (and supernatural) end by fulfilling his God-given vocation as an individual, as a subordinate member of the whole social organism, be that vocation what it may in the scale of human values.

Marx's theory of surplus-value was supposed to be the scientific explanation of the "spoliation" of the working-classes by the capitalists. We may reject the explanation, while reserving judgment on the fact of this "spoliation." Things have greatly improved in the

[1] The "pulverisation" of agricultural land into "family farms" is the official socialistic (as distinguished from communistic) solution of rural social organisation. It figures prominently on the French Socialist Party's programme, as the best means to secure "equality" and to do away with the hierarchical idea, which is certainly the traditional Christian one. A "family farm" is one that can be worked as a tillage farm without hired labour.

[2] "Classes" is used here in the strict sociological sense of the word, as Marx used it—not in the popular sense.

matter of the share of the working-classes in the produce of industry since Marx wrote in 1867. Nevertheless two years ago Pope Pius XI was still able to write : " . . . the immense number of propertyless wage-earners on the one hand and the superabundant riches of the fortunate few on the other are an unanswerable argument that earthly goods, so abundantly produced in this age of industrialism, are far from rightly distributed and equitably shared among the various classes of men." It is at least partially due to Marx that human labour has ceased to be regarded as a " commodity " to be valued for exchange like material goods or wares.[1] It will soon cease to be counted as among the " costs " of production. But the " unanswerable argument " of Pope Pius remains : the just wage has not yet been realised ; there must be a leakage somewhere in the distribution of the product of the combined efforts of labour and capital. It is an extraordinary fact how the earning power of the fixed capital of an enterprise (represented by debenture or preference shares) always remains the same, crisis or no crisis (even when it has been or should have been amortized 50 years or more ago), while the earning power of the human labour employed drops the moment business is bad or a " crisis " arrives.[2] Whatever may be thought of the various explanations offered, there is the " rapacious usury " of which Pope Leo XIII spoke, and the " inequitable distribution " of which Pope Pius speaks to be satisfactorily accounted for. Marx will lose much of his influence the day an answer and a remedy is found for this problem ; but so long as even the appearance of a " spoliation " of the working-classes exists, so long will the name of Marx be looked upon by great masses of men as the name of a prophet and a deliverer.

[1] Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, which has made this principle part of International Law, was largely due to the Federat. Syndic. Intern. of Amsterdam (now of Berlin), a Marxian institution. The principle itself is that of *Rerum Novarum*.

[2] Cf. Tiberghien : L'Encyclique *Vix Pervenit*. Mgr. Pottier : *La Morale Catholique*. Mgr. Six : *Dict. Conn. Pratiques*. Savatier : *Le Capitale moderne et la Justice*.

ENTROPY, LIFE AND EVOLUTION

BY HENRY V. GILL, S.J.

POSSIBLY no word plays a more important part in cosmological physics than "entropy." Much of the difficulty experienced by ordinary readers of books on modern science is due to the fact that the writers on these books do not, as a rule, care to explain their terms. There is nothing mysterious in the notion conveyed by the term entropy; the difficulty of giving a clear definition is due to the fact that we are dealing with a negative rather than a positive quantity. There is no other single word which conveys the same meaning; perhaps "randomness" or "disorder" would come nearest.

We shall deal chiefly with this idea of randomness, as being that which underlies the whole theory. In the first place entropy is only applicable to a system containing many units which differ quantitatively from one another. An excellent example of the growth of entropy is afforded by a "sweep." Let us suppose several million tickets to be printed and numbered consecutively from 1 to 10,000,000. We may suppose these to be stored originally on long shelves in perfect consecutive order. From the point of view of numbering we say that the entropy of this system is at its *minimum* value. But soon the distribution begins. Batches are sent to different parts of the world. These blocks are subdivided amongst individuals. After a short time it would be difficult to come across two tickets numbered consecutively. They are becoming more mixed. We say that the *entropy of the system is increasing—they are becoming more mixed.* Finally the tickets—or portions bearing the same numbers as the tickets—are returned to the Sweep Headquarters and put into the drum for a final mixing. All this time

the tickets are becoming more and more mixed; the entropy is increasing. The tickets are now still further blown about, and submitted to every known method of mixing them up. When they are as *much mixed up as it is possible to conceive*, we say that the *entropy is at its maximum*. Even in this case, where the mixing is to a great extent from the outside and artificial, we see that the tendency of the tickets is to get mixed up more and more as time goes on. We say that in general the entropy of any such system tends to increase to a maximum.

Thus the entropy of a system of naturally immovable things like bits of paper may be made to increase by artificially mixing them up. But if the units are capable of movement on their own account, then the entropy increases without any outside agency. An army division, for example, drawn up for inspection, is arranged in a definite order—infantry, artillery, cavalry, etc., etc., These branches are in turn divided up into squadrons, companies, platoons, etc. Thus each man is practically fixed and could be found at once. The entropy of this system is very low. But as soon as the inspection is over, and all units and individuals begin to go about freely on the barrack square, they naturally become more and more mixed. And if they were suddenly brought to a standstill, we should find that there was little or no order amongst the individuals. The entropy has increased greatly. This would be all the more rapid and complete if there was an unfortunate antipathy between all the individuals. They would then be as far apart from each other as the size of the square permitted. Thus in this case too the tendency is for the entropy to increase.

If we were to attempt to restore the original order of the sweep tickets, we see at once how difficult it would be. It would be a most tedious and lengthy operation to extract even two tickets with consecutive numbers from the drum: it would require a considerable expenditure of intelligent energy. The difficulty would be all the

greater in the case of a large number of consecutive tickets. There is of course a possibility—which might also be called a very slight probability—of several consecutive tickets being drawn from the drum without any search. This probability is so slight that it may be neglected. The whole theory of a sweepstake is on the supposition that this does not happen.

We arrive then at the general law that the increase of entropy takes place automatically, while a decrease of entropy only takes place when some outside influence is exerted. In other words, a number of units *left to themselves* tend to become more and more mixed up, and to depart more and more from any systematised order. A group of mixed units *never* tends of itself towards an orderly arrangement. But it tends towards uniformity, so that one portion is as like another as possible. A number of differently coloured beads well mixed up and looked at from a distance presents a uniform colour. We know too that if we mix quantities of water at different temperatures, some very hot and others very cold, the resulting mixture will be neither very hot nor very cold, but tepid. This represents the *most probable* final state. This fact brings us to the most important aspect of entropy.

Let us return for a moment to the row of sweep tickets arranged in order. Let us suppose that the temperature of each ticket is proportional to its number. Thus one end of the row would be very hot and the other end very cold. In this respect the orderly series of tickets resembles a steam engine. In every heat machine there must be a region of great heat represented by the furnace, boiler, etc., and a cold region corresponding to the condensing region where the steam has lost its heat. In this way there is a transfer of heat from the hotter to the colder region. The one tends to become cooler and the other hotter. Unless heat were constantly supplied to the boiler, the temperature of the water would soon sink so low that there would be no difference of temperature between one

portion of the machine and the other, with the result that it would be impossible to obtain work from the machine. The same general principle is true of every machine. In the case of a turbine, for example, there must be a difference of level between the inflow and outflow of the water. Water flowing from one reservoir to another will always tend towards a common level in both. The level of one will sink and that of the other will rise. In certain cases the flow will end at a common level. At this stage the turbine stops.

The energy of a system is proportional to the difference of temperature, level, potential, etc., between the parts. Thus the greater the difference of temperature, the greater the power of doing work—or the less the entropy the greater the available energy. Therefore, whatever tends to increase the entropy of a system tends to lessen its useful or available energy. Now we have seen that the tendency of nature is to mix up units until they are as uniformly distributed as possible. If we were to return the sweep tickets to the shelves after they had been mixed, there would no longer be any resemblance to a machine. The average temperature of a block of tickets at one end would be the same as that of an equal block at the other end. No work would be possible under these conditions. It takes a long time to thoroughly mix the sweep tickets, and it is clear that the greater the number and the wider the distribution the longer it will take. But given sufficient time and patience, no matter how great the magnitude of the sweep operations, the complete mixing will be finally accomplished.

This is exactly what is going on in the universe. Hot stars, like the sun, are radiating out their heat—distributing it among planets and into space. When every allowance has been made for all possible sources of heat in stars and planets—such as radium, transference of matter into radiation, and the rest—the fact remains that the quantity of heat in the universe is becoming more

evenly distributed. The heat of the sun at present is just sufficient to make life possible on this earth. Any marked fall in the temperature of the world would be followed by universal death on our planet. Now it is certain that the sun is losing its heat day by day. It is also true that we are not receiving any appreciable heat from any other source. It therefore follows that eventually this earth must inevitably become too cold to support life, so that as far as the human race is concerned the world will have come to an end. What is going on between the earth and the sun is taking place amongst all the parts of the universe. The temperature of the whole is tending towards uniformity. It is clear from the past history of the heavenly bodies that the temperature is going down all round. The moon was once very hot ; it is now exceedingly cold. This earth of ours was once much hotter than it is now. Since it is scientifically certain that the moon was once part of the same mass as the earth, it follows that the earth too will eventually become as cold as the moon is now. The same is true of the other planets of our system. They all, from being intensely hot, have lost a great part of their heat, and are now intensely cold. Life is or will be impossible on them.

A very important consequence follows from this tendency towards uniformity. According to the recognised laws of cooling there is an exchange of heat between hot bodies. When two hot bodies are near each other they are radiating out heat to one another. When they are both at the same temperature, each gives to the other as much as it receives. If one body is hotter than the other, the hot body will give more heat to the cooler than it receives from the latter, with the result that one will become hotter and the other cooler until they are both at the same temperature. This law enables us to arrive at some interesting facts concerning the temperatures of the two bodies. In the first place, if two bodies near each other are at different temperatures—and not receiving heat

from any other source—we know that in a given time, which can be calculated, they will both be at the same temperature. Thus, if two bodies are now at different temperatures, we conclude that the difference of temperature must have begun at a definite time in the past; for otherwise they would now be at the same temperature. Therefore, the fact that there are differences of temperature in the universe is a proof that this universe must have had a beginning. There must have been a time when the differences of temperature were even more marked than they are now. The question arises as to how these differences of temperature began.

The scientific question is a complicated one, but it is generally agreed that masses of matter in the universe were once very much hotter than at present. If we had sufficient data, we could calculate the rate of cooling of these masses and hence the rate at which entropy is increasing. When finally the matter in the universe will have arrived at the same uniform temperature, all life and movement will cease. There will be no evaporation and no rains. The sun will no longer shine. The earth and all other planets will be frozen spheres. They may perhaps crash into each other from time to time, and thus give rise to other masses hot enough—owing to the heat caused by the collision—to support life. But where will life come from?

It is certain that this earth of ours and all other planets were once too hot to support life. In spite of every effort on the part of scientists, there has never been any indication found that life ever comes except from a previously living organism. As time goes on, the best scientists are becoming more and more convinced of the essential difference between life and any other property of matter. Serious workers never look for or expect to find any sign of life in perfectly sterile test tubes. If they do find any living organisms, they immediately conclude that their apparatus had not been perfectly clean. But since life does, as a

matter of fact, exist on this planet, and since it must have come from previously living organisms, how are we to account for the first of the living things on the earth ? Since all planets were once too hot for life, it is no explanation to say that some seed was somehow wafted from a distant planet across the voids of space until it fell on some other planet of the right temperature. The problem is only put back one step ; for the existence of life on that other planet has to be accounted for. The simplest and most scientific explanation is to say that life was created by One able to " breathe life into matter." Life was created by God.

In this way the existence of life in the universe, considered in connection with the law of entropy, is a satisfying proof of the existence of God. We must, however, beware of attaching too much importance to this proof, or of supposing that there are not other and even more satisfying proofs. This proof of God from life depends on the assertion—not admitted by many of the great Catholic theologians in the past, on account of their lack of scientific data—that *spontaneous generation* does not take place. This assertion is based on experimental evidence. No scientist, in spite of the employment of every known method and with every possible precaution, has ever succeeded in producing living from non-living matter, and we are therefore justified in accepting the impossibility of any such evolution as a demonstrated fact.

Arising out of the theory of entropy some reflections are suggested on the subject of evolution. Without attempting to discuss the details of evolution we may say in general that, according to the modern view, from the simplest form or forms of living organisms arose by " evolutionary processes " the different forms of life as we have them to-day. The following passage possibly represents the modern view. It is taken simply as a sample of the views expressed by a responsible professor :—

We do not know what were these conditions in which the first forms of life originated, for they do not appear to have recurred,

and it has been impossible to reproduce them experimentally. Present physical conceptions appear to suggest that this origin of living things occurred, of itself, simply as "a fortuitous concourse of atoms," that is, as a highly improbable physical event. . . . It is not "impossible," and though its probability is extraordinarily small, that is not an *a priori* reason for refusing to contemplate the possibility of the event. We incline to think of such a primary life-material as similar to the "undifferentiated protoplasm" of the lower organisms.[1]

We must remember that in the rationalistic evolution of such writers there is no "vital principle" as apart from the ordinary properties of matter. Therefore the "fortuitous concourse" of the atoms is not guided by any influence outside the atoms themselves. Their motions, etc., are purely fortuitous. If they do assemble into living things, it is because such is the nature of their "concourse." Now the ideal example of entropy is to be found in the case of the atoms and molecules of a gas. After a short time these atoms are thoroughly mixed up. Some are moving faster, others slower, and some are for an instant at rest. But they are thoroughly mixed. In other words, the "fortuitous concourse" of atoms—or of anything else—does not tend towards the development of differentiation. Evolution, therefore, is completely opposed to the fundamental principle of entropy. We know from experience that any substances which mix, do so thoroughly, so that one volume of the mixture is exactly the same as any other. Evolution is the emergence of the more organised and more complex from the less organised and less complex. It is evident that the atoms constituting the human brain are arranged in a more orderly —in a *less random*—way than in a mass of "undifferentiated protoplasm." But according to the principles of evolution this development took place spontaneously without any outside influence. Now this tendency is completely opposed to the whole theory of entropy. In other words, *evolution tends towards an*

[1] Prof. J. Johnstone, "Entropy and Evolution," in *Philosophy*, July, 1932, p. 293.

increase of order, i.e., a decrease of entropy, while the *elements which constitute the evolving organisms tend towards an increase of disorder, i.e. an increase of entropy !*

Now, one would think that the claims of a theory like evolution would cede to those of a physical law so well established as the increase of entropy of a sytem, or at least that the intervention of some vital force distinct from the properties of inorganic matter would be invoked. But that is not the way of evolutionists. They prefer to throw over the ordinary conclusions of science :—

> We may attempt to generalize the old conception of entropy as it has been generalized by the methods of thermodynamics and statistical mechanics, and then extend it to biology. We may, of course, apply the conception to the energetics of the individual organism. Then we find that a system, the fertilized ovum, say, that is originally physico-chemically and morphologically complex, becomes still more complex with the process of development. Its entropy decreases as the individual grows in mass and reproduces, but at length there occur the catastrophic processes of somatic death, when the body disintegrates, so that its parts assume the physical phase of greatest probability (*i.e.*, gases and the like). Life, as a whole, the evolving stock or race, however, passes through phases of increasing improbability, so that the entropy of the continuous world life (being proportional to the logarithm of the probability) continually decreases [*i.e.*, becomes more ordered].[1]

This remarkable conclusion, so much at variance with the laws of the chemical constituents of matter, cannot be denied by evolutionists even though it involve them in so glaring a contradiction. We have seen how the " facts " of evolution point to a *decrease* of entropy in living matter as time goes on ; while by the laws of physics the entropy of their constituents tends to *increase*. Thus if one condition of things is later than another, the entropy of the latter is greater than that of the former. Or if the entropy at one stage is greater than that at another, then the stage corresponding to the greater entropy is later in time than that of the lesser entropy.

[1] *l. c.*, p. 297.

But materialistic evolution would reverse all this. Take three stages in evolutionary development which follow each other in time in the order *a*—*b*—*c*, and consider them in terms of entropy, remembering that the entropy of *a* is greater than that of *b* because it (*a*) is a less highly organised form, etc. :—

> And since time flows in the direction of increasing entropy (or increasing probability), it would appear that *c* is earlier than *b*; *b* earlier than *a*; and so on, a result which seems fanciful, but which it is not easy to controvert.[1]

Translating this into an actual case of alleged evolution, let us suppose the three stages *a*, *b*, and *c* to represent :— (*a*) chemical atoms ; (*b*) protoplasm ; (*c*) a living animal. From the principles already laid down the entropy of a collection of atoms (*a*) is greater than that of protoplasm (*b*), for there is less arrangement among them ; the entropy of protoplasm is less than that of a living animal (*c*) for the same reason. Thus, according to the laws of entropy, the living animal should come first, and then " evolve " into protoplasm, and finally into its constituent atoms ! This is the exact reverse of the " facts " of evolutionary theory.

There is only one possible way of reconciling the opposed claims of the well-established laws of science and evolutionary theories : to admit the intervention and continually active interference of a guiding force which, in the case of life, lifts it into a higher plane of existence where it is not subject to the laws of entropy. Evolution can never be established on rationalistic lines. Whatever may be said about the theories of Darwin, the founder of modern evolution postulated the intervention of a Creator.

H. V. Gill

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[1] *l. c.*, 278.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

XXV

A CRY FOR HELP

1. Ag ro tṙáṫ na caṁṗa a Ċṙíoṙd
[ó]anṗa a-tá maṙ do ṫáṙg
a lionn naċ aiṫḃe gan iaṙg
[am] ṗiaṙg ṗaiṫne i ngioll do ġṙáṙd.

2. Noċt dúinn do ṫṙóċaiṗe i dtṙáṫ
aṙ óg Muiṗe mbúiḋ ṗod ḃiaṫ
lám ṗaṙ n-eiṗe aṙ iḃe a cíoċ
ḃíoḋ naċ dliġe teile a ṫṙiaṫ.

3. Ag ro a ṗaiṫḃile aṙ ṗí aṙ neaṁ
a ṙgíṙ god ṁaiṫmiġe moġ
tṙéd ḃaiṙ i-né do noċt bíoṙ
a-nioḋ a Dé ag toċt ṗad ċoi.

4. Teanga do luiḋṁiġ gaċ lá
duine dá ndeaċaiḋ ṗa ċṙó
gein ċoiṁeaċ lé gcéaṙdaiṙ tú
a-nú aṙ t'oineaċ déaṙgain dó.

5. Ag ro an ġuiḋe ṁall ṗéṙ méin
gan an tuigṙe ann 'n-a huain
mo ġaoi cṙó aṙ t'ṗeiṫeaṁ do b'áil
a ḃṙeiṫeaṁ cáiġ i lá an luain.

6. Ag ro an ċoṁaiṗle go gclaon
ṗán doḃuingṫe ṗoṙ ná ṙṗuan
ṗún naċ roiṫillṫe go díoṙ
ó ċṙúḋ ġníoṁ ndoiċinnṫe ndian.

7. Aṙ do ġṙáṙaiḃ ġeiḃ aṙ ṙoiuiṙ
'ṙ aṙ do ṁáṫaiṙ a ṁeic naoiṁ
ṗoluaḋail ṗan mbioċ daṙ mbéin
ṗioċ dá n-éiṙ ṗoluaṁai[n] ṗaoin.

8. A fíorṁac Dé atar [án]
a gabal fíota an té ar tiur
gid bé ar ngar i nglinn na ndeor
feol ó tal inn ar ar n-iul.

9. Ceann m'aradna a Íosa ar t'iocht
diorgad don anamra it uct
bann clé ná cinnead lem corp
ort a Dé m'fillead ó uic.

10. A gloír do daoi ir biar 'r a-tá
fóir ar do gnaoi ar lia ir ar lia
[mon] tuile teadmann i dtú
dearbam tú id duine ir id Dia.

11. T'aire rum a rí na mbreat
dainim runn ar fiord don biot
gar rníom go raigrib dom rat
am rgat crion aimrid gan iot.

12. Ní héidir liomra acd bann báir
all éigne ar iomda rem gnúir
m'aonta dall re dol 'n-a nguair
i n-am cruair dá cur im cúir.

13. Na catraigte a-nall 'r a-nonn
dar n-atcuirne ó all go hall
uain rgíora ní lamtair liom
tarrtaig rionn a Íosa i n-am.

14. Ní reicim do réir ar dtoil
coim feitiṁ i gcéin 'r i ngar
mé mar éan agur é i ndul
féag ar a dlug a Dé dam.

15. Ar feire raogal na lúb
baogal dar mbreitne tar féad
an fean ní fidir ná an t-óg
cead ar fód idir don éag.

Ag ro.

Translation

1. O Christ, now is the time to help (me) from a storm great as Thy glory (?); O sea whose ebbing abounds in fish, I am a fern-grown moor dependent on Thy grace.

2. Show forth to us Thy timely mercy for the sake of dear Virgin Mary, Thy nurse; by Thy drinking at her breast place (I beseech Thee), though Thou art not bound to do so, Thy hand 'neath our burden.

3. O gracious prince, Lord of Heaven, a caitiff yesterday drove a nail right through Thy hand; behold him to-day, outdone by Thy forgivingness, submissive to Thee.

4. . . . . ; that the wicked man who tortures Thee should now look for Thy mercy.

5. A wish of mine, a sluggish one and contrary to my inclination, a senseless and belated one, is this: would that, O Judge of the world on Monday, my lance-socket had been guarding Thee (on Calvary).

6. Look at my perverse ways so impatient of check or control, my will that can not be turned aside from ill-advised and violent deeds.

7. By Thy grace, and for Thy mother's sake, O holy Son, undertake to guide me, wild recklessness driving me through the world along a course which makes my steps unsteady.

8. O fair (?) true Son of God the Father, O partner in the peace of the One-in-Three, lead me willingly along the true path (namely) whatever may be for my good in this vale of tears.

9. May my bridle-end, O Jesus, be in Thy power, and the guiding of my soul be near to Thy heart; let no evil deed approach my body; on Thee depends my avoiding of sin.

10. O Glory which was and is and shall be, increase Thy love for me ever more and more through the flood of evils around me; let me feel Thy help as God and as man.

11. List to me, O Lord of dooms; evil my spell of life here; quick ruin of my fortunes is at hand; I am a withered barren seedless flower.

12. Only deeds of death can I do; many the abyss of ruin before me; my foolish willingness to risk (approaching) them will be brought against me in my day of trial.

13. Temptations on every side driving me from one abyss to another, I dare not rest a while; help me, O Jesus, in time.

14. I can not, as I would fain, reach any shelter far or near; I am as a bird in a snare; give heed, O Lord, to the hold it has on me.

15. I fear lest this tricksy world, my companion, may lead me astray; no man, young or old, can tell the place of his death.

Notes

This poem, ascribed to Gofraidh Mac Briain Mac an Bhaird, has been copied by Father John Mac Erlean from a MS. in Stonyhurst College. All readings departed from are noted.

1*b* a *d* ar. 2*d* For teile. *cf.* IGT 1. 1084. 3*a* ar aicbile. *b* *Leg* ó rg. or i rg. ? 4*a* tuirmig seems corrupt. *b* do deaccaid. 7*d* g, 8*a* ar aon. *d* inn ar miul. 9*c* cineal. 10*a* do bí. *c* Reading uncertain *Leg* mé ó ? 11*c* roch. 12*c* ina ng. *d* ár am cr. do o.*et sic leg.* 14*c*. é nduil. *d* dlug. For dlug „ claim" *cf.* Eriu iv. p. 238. 15*c* r. rní f.

CRISIS IN THE UNIVERSITY

BY MICHAEL TIERNEY, M.A.

Professor of Greek, University College, Dublin

THE intellectual and moral uncertainty which, no less than economic bewilderment and social unrest, is a dominant characteristic of the post-war world, has naturally enough not been without its effect in the field of education. Even the University, the home of conservatism and tradition, finds itself in danger of attack by the restless spirit of the age, which questions everything, but will not wait for an answer to any of its questions. The crisis in the University has naturally enough been most acute in those countries whose political system was in one way or other broken by the War—in Germany, in Russia, and in Italy. But even in America at its most prosperous and most optimistic, and even in victorious France and conservative England, the first qualms of uneasiness have begun to be felt. Everywhere there is spreading a vague feeling that the University can no longer fulfil its old function—and a still more deadly doubt as to whether in the terribly altered world it can really fulfil, in its old form, any useful function at all. Everywhere the question "What are Universities really for?" is being asked with more or less insistence. Very often the answer is given that they ought to be used for some other than their present purposes; but when the proposals for change come to be examined, it is distressing to find how often they are naive, inconsistent, or contrary to the obvious lessons of past experience.

One of the offshoots of the League of Nations, founded to relieve the sufferings of students just after the war and known as "International Student Service," has for several years devoted its attention to the examination of university ideals among different peoples, with a view to an ultimate synthesis and perhaps the restoration

of some basis for that intellectual unity which was the note of the medieval University. Towards the end of last year the Oxford University Press published for this organisation an extremely interesting and useful little volume,[1] in which authorities from different countries give each an account of his own country's university system, its problems, and its aims. In an introductory essay, the principal editor ruefully enough stresses the very striking differences in modes of thought and ideals that emerge from the symposium. The contributions give no sign of promise that institutions of learning are anywhere near being united "by one idea of knowledge and a common ideal of man." On the contrary, they seem to indicate that "the last vestiges of unity are rapidly disappearing." All the countries from which contributions are included seem to be going their separate ways. England, France, and America, each has its peculiar national system, within which various often contradictory ideas seem to struggle for realisation. Germany is in the throes of a far-reaching crisis, in which the once-powerful organisation of German learning and science is in danger of foundering. Italy has remodelled its university system on Fascist national principles, which are an adventurous blend of antinomies—liberty and strict subservience to the political aims of Fascism. Russia, true to the logic of the industrial revolution, the essence of which it is striving to realise in a mechanised Utopia, has broken up most of its universities into technological institutes and Communist training-schools.

The idea of the University, "guardian of the *summum bonum* of man's intellectual achievement," exists at present, says Dr. Kotschnig in his introduction, "only as a memory of past greatness or as a hope for the future." The seriousness of this disintegration can easily be realised if we reflect that there was never more imperative

[1] *The University in a Changing World:* A Symposium. Edited by Walter M. Kotschnig and Elined Prys. London: Humphrey Milford. 7s. 6d. net.

need for intellectual unity than there is to-day, when the forces of economic development have broken down international cultural barriers more universally and with more devastating completeness than ever before in history. A world driven into a mechanical unity by the weight of inexorable necessity cannot long maintain its civilisation if it be torn asunder by the violent explosive pressure of intellectual dis-union. In many ways the most interesting and significant chapter in the whole book is that on "The Conception of a Catholic University," in which Dr. Dietrich von Hildebrand of Munich sets forth what the editor describes as "the strongest basis for a new unity," and what it is clear from the editor's own summing-up of the situation is the only hopeful approach towards any kind of real unity at all. That such a chapter should be included in such a book is a remarkable sign of the times. It is perhaps even more remarkable still that the editor should greet it as likely to "meet the grateful understanding of many who do not share his (Dr. Hildebrand's) Roman Catholic convictions." The Catholic contribution, which stands in eloquent isolation at the end of a book otherwise altogether devoted to the exposition of local, limited, and widely divergent ideas and problems, is at once a striking criticism of the whole series of errors which have brought about the crisis, and a restatement of the age-old proposition that only by looking beyond itself can mankind reach or maintain its fullest capacity in the intellectual as well as in the moral sphere.

As in the case of the present economic, social, and political unrest, the intellectual disintegration revealed by the crisis in the University is not at all solely the product of the Great War. The present generation is only feeling with acute discomfort the effects of a long historical process. The causes of the crisis lie near the roots of the modern phase of civilisation itself. The medieval university possessed and was founded upon that *unitas intellectus* which is so much missed to-day. Medieval

learning and science were no doubt imperfect and its philosophy perhaps ended in over-subtlety; but such as they were they did offer a single ideal and a conception of life which after all enabled medieval Europe to create the most fruitful of all civilisations. The medieval synthesis was discarded in the excessive eagerness of the Renaissance for the beauties and splendours of ancient paganism. With the Renaissance came the first emergence since antiquity of a false Absolute—a phantom which has assumed many forms since then, but is to-day more clearly recognisable than ever as an image of self-deified man himself. All the various reinforcements of the Renaissance process that have since occurred—the eighteenth century Enlightenment with its cult of Reason, its product in nineteenth century England with its cult of Utility, the concept of Absolute Knowledge enthroned in the modern German University since its inception, its union with French Humanism and English Utilitarianism to produce the modern divinity of Absolute Physical Science—one after another these various manifestations of the same idol have been set up for worship in the schools, and their worship has eventuated in chaos.

The ideals of the different university systems in Germany, France, and England have all been modifications, greater or less, of this Absolute. The present crisis is most severe in Germany not only because of defeat in war, but because the German Absolute—"Wissenschaft"—while in many ways the most imposing, was the weakest of all three. No one can question the unparalleled intellectual achievement of the nineteenth century German University, the University of Mommsen, Harnack, and Wilamowitz. But one only needs to read the autobiography of the last named in order to realise, for all his profound scholarship and unsurpassed critical acumen, what a meaningless and empty thing his Hellenic "Wissenschaft" was. It is moving to read in this book of the plight into which this Absolute has now fallen, and to

examine the suggestions being made for its recovery; among them that of Dr. Spranger, that the German University should refashion itself on the American model. One would like to hear on this proposal the opinion of Dr. Flexner, whose strictures on the American university system made so great a stir three years ago.[1]

More than by their victory in the war, England and France have been saved from the full effects of the crisis by the fact that their idols, while not so grandiose as the German, were stronger in possessing a moral element of a sort. In England the idea of the "gentleman" has always maintained some of its hold, and has been strengthened by the admission of other ideas, that of the practical man of affairs as well as that of the "Wissenschaftler" on the German model. The union of the three has been stronger than any one of them could have been singly. The idea of the "gentleman" nearly destroyed English education a century ago, but it has survived to give to the other elements that "ethical strain" of which Professor Ernest Barker speaks in this book. It is this idea that makes English learning so much a personal matter, and the close contact and companionship between teachers and pupils which it involves has been undoubtedly of greater value in the long run than the idea of "Wissenschaft" as its own end in Germany. Nevertheless the pressure of the "practical man" on the English University has been immense and is likely to grow. With its growth will come the crisis which Professor Barker feels afar off. Meanwhile England goes her isolated way, unable to give any real aid in the world's distracted search for intellectual unity.

In France the moral leaven which sweetens the whole has been provided by the survival to our own day of the Renaissance humanist type—the autonomous personality after the model of Montaigne. It is significant that in

[1] See Dr. James J. Walsh's article on "American Universities" in STUDIES, June 1931.

no other country perhaps have the terms "humanism" and "humanist" such a vogue as in present-day France, and in no country are they so commonly given their most obvious literal meaning. The writer was present last spring at the Congress of the Association Guillaume Budé at Nîmes. One of its sections was devoted to the discussion of humanism; and the most striking exposition of what is most commonly meant in educated French circles by that term was given in a paper communicated by the novelist, M. Ramon Fernandez. It was summed up in a brief sentence: "L'homme, individuellement ou collectivement, est la source de toutes les valeurs." It is true that another contribution set up, in opposition to this restatement of the ancient Protagorean sophism that man is the measure of everything, the significant ideal of Socratic wisdom. M. Fernandez seemed, however, to speak for the majority; and his doctrine was reinforced, in yet another paper, by a very eloquent eulogy of Goethe as the man who completed the effort of the Renaissance and gave the modern soul a modern ethic. This French admiration for Goethe is not in the least surprising, for the great poet with the passion for science provided the nineteenth century with a new counterpart to the complete humanist Montaigne. French education has been twice re-made in modern times, first by the Revolution and again by a strong infusion of German "Wissenschaft" after the defeat of 1870-71. But throughout all the humanist ideal of the self-sufficient personality has persisted—an ideal well fitted to give to the world the artist, the diplomat, and the soldier in their finest form, but still less capable than that of the Absolute Scientist to provide a basis for intellectual or moral unity. "L'homme, source de toutes les valeurs," is at his best a fine fellow, but at his worst he is a beast or an anarchist. That he has not sufficed to stave off the crisis in France—a crisis caused by the same material pressure that is everywhere evident—is proved, as Dr. Kotschnig

points out, by the fact that it was in France that the cry was first heard of " la trahison des clercs."

The new Absolutes now being set up for worship in Italy and Russia are but fresh epiphanies of the same old delusion. State-worship, however much it may strive to reconcile liberty with political control, has always been one of the most persistent and deadly forms of the self-deification of humanity. It should not be forgotten that even the pagan world in the end discarded such ideas precisely because they were powerless to effect the unity which was as great a necessity in the fourth century as it is to-day. Dr. Hildebrand criticises with devastating completeness the German Absolute, " science without presuppositions." In reality it is similar to all the others : the absolute State, absolute Humanity, the gentleman, the self-sufficient personality. All are phases in the attempted restoration of mankind itself to the altars in place of the Christian God. The alternatives before modern man are clear enough. Either he will bring about the destruction of all science and learning, and with them of civilisation itself, through the disruption caused by this everlasting pursuit of a phantom : or he will recover a single purpose directed to an end outside himself and permeating like a leaven all the products of his intellect. That purpose can only be recovered by the belief and practice of Christianity. Dr. Hildebrand has in a few pages shattered the delusion that in a Catholic University true science is in any way fettered by conditions extraneous and irrelevant to its nature as science. Only in an institution guided, informed, and illuminated by the humility of the Christian faith and the discipline of Christian practice can knowledge be truly free and truly itself. The Catholic University is hardly yet more than an idea. This book shows with abundant clarity that upon the full realisation of this idea depends the future of Occidental scientific culture.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

REVIEWS

Scripture

LE JUDAISME AVANT JÉSUS-CHRIST. Par M. J. Lagrange. Paris: Gabalda. 1931. 100 fr.

THIS work is intended to serve as a sort of second edition of the author's *Le Messianisme chez les Juifs* (Paris, 1909), which has been for a long time out of print. The title of the present work is not perfectly descriptive of its contents. Père Lagrange himself suggests that *Aperçus sur le Judäisme* or *Quelques Traits du Judaïsme* might have more fitly indicated its scope and range. It does not discuss the development of pre-Christian Judaism generally: it is mainly concerned with Palestinian Judaism. By way of exception, however, and for reasons of special importance the Judaism of the "Diaspora" in Egypt is also considered at considerable length.

The work is prefaced by a brief survey of the chief sources (the works of Josephus and the Rabbinical writings) and by an enumeration, which is sometimes critical, of the most important modern studies of Judaism.

By "Judaism" Lagrange means the religious, moral and political outlook which resulted in post-exilic Israel from the reform-work of the Esdras period. The purpose of the work is to indicate the chief factors which contributed to the development of that "Judaism," and to analyse the effects of "Judaism" in the political and religious life of Palestinian Jewry in the two centuries that preceded and in the half century that followed the appearance of Christianity. Our Lord Himself was by birth a Jew, and it was to Palestinian Jews that the Gospel of Christ was first preached. Everything, then, which helps us to understand the character of pre-Christian Judaism in Palestine must be immensely useful to the student of Early Christianity. All through his work Lagrange is thinking of the Gospel and of the needs of those whose special work is the study of the New Testament; and though, as a collection of facts and details, it is in no wise intended to be a substitute for such books as Schuerer's *Geschichte*, his book, in all its sections, is marked by a challenging and stimulating suggestiveness.

The work is divided into four parts. In the first (1-46) the chief pre-Exilic factors of "Judaism" and the special religious influences at work during the Exile, at the Return from Exile, and in the Restoration are analysed. To this section there is added a review of Hellenistic religion in its possibilities as a grave danger for the growth of Judaism.

In the second part (47-266) the interaction of political and theological development is studied in the political and literary history of the Jews from the Maccabean period to A.D. 39—so as to make clear the mentality of the Palestinian Jewish world that heard, and largely rejected, the teaching of Christ. This section covers a wide field and is a mine of exact information. The picture of Palestinian affairs which it presents is clearer, more stimulating and, of course, more up-to-date than that which is supplied by Schuerer. On the literary side we have here a peculiarly clear and helpful study of "Apocalyptic"—which, in some respects, marks a definite advance on *Le Messianisme*. The origin and development of Pharisaism and the attachment of Pharisaism to Davidic Messianism are briefly but tellingly analysed. The career of Herod "the Great," the failure of Archeläus, and the establishment of the Roman Procuratorship in Judaea are here most carefully studied, especially in their effects on the religious attitude of Palestinian Jewry. A useful Appendix to the section gives an account of the Governors of Syria throughout the period with which the section deals. In this Appendix the problems of New Testament chronology are constantly kept in view.

The third section (267-479) deals with the internal life of "Judaism" in the pre-Christian period—with its sects (Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes) and with the great theological problems that agitated it (retribution in a future life, the Unity of God, the person and functions of the Messias, etc.). We have here a brief but acute treatment of Old Testament Messianism generally and of the *Servus Domini* texts of Isaias and of the "Mourning" texts of Zachary (xii, 8–xiii, 1) in particular. Modern "critical" theories of outside influences on Jewish belief are subjected to a vigorous and (generally) destructive criticism . The last chapter of this section deals with individual piety in Judaism—with Jewish Mysticism, belief in the working of God's Spirit, the *Shekinah*, the Word of God, forms of prayer, etc.

In the fourth and final section (480-586) the author studies the origins, outlook, and achievements of Judaism in Egypt, the reactions of Judaism to Graeco-Egyptian religion, and (in detail) the work of Philo. The work concludes with a brief general summary of results (587-591).

This new work of the indefatigable Dominican scholar is much more helpful to the student than any mere new edition of *Le Messianisme* could have been ; for, while it deals fully with all the really essential problems of Messianism, it makes later Jewish

Messianic speculation peculiarly intelligible by fitting it into the political and cultural history of Judaism. In his discussion of literary problems Père Lagrange has advanced in his new work some striking points of view—for instance, the theory that a large portion of the writings associated with the name of Henoch and the text known as the *Assumption of Moses* originated among the Essenes. Its accuracy of scholarship, ripeness of judgment, suggestiveness of treatment, comprehensiveness of outlook, its sympathy with the needs of the student, and its deep and reverent grasp of the uniqueness and the ineffable value of the Gospel make this book an invaluable and indispensable guide in the study of Christian origins. P. Boylan

THE MEMOIRS OF ST. PETER. By James A. Kleist, S.J. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1932. $2.50.

This is a new translation, preceded by a lengthy Introduction and followed by Notes and "Theological Comment," of the Gospel according to St. Mark. It is the work of a biblical scholar who has devoted many years of research to the study of this Gospel. The present volume represents the first-fruits of those years. It is to be followed by three, possibly four, further volumes all devoted to St. Mark.

It may be well to make clear at once in what precise respects this new translation differs from previous Catholic versions of the Gospels. In the first place it embodies the results of some thirty-five years' study of New Testament Greek and in particular of the Gospel of St. Mark. Secondly it has left on one side all existing translations in English, including the Doway version, and has been made afresh from the original Greek. Thirdly it is in the conversational English of the present day. And fourthly it is set out in "colometric" form.

It might be thought that because, since the days of Erasmus, New Testament Greek has been subjected to exhaustive study by highly equipped scholars in Europe and America, nothing more remains to be learned about it. That is not so; for, apart from the fact that each successive scholar in any branch of learning has before him the accumulated results of previous research, a great deal of fresh light has been shed on the Greek of the first century by the discovery in Egypt of great masses of MSS. written on papyrus, many of which date from that period. The material thus acquired is still in process of investigation. Father Kleist has made full use of the findings in this new field of research.

The Doway and Rheims Version, made at the end of the

sixteenth century, was based rather on the Latin Vulgate than on the Greek, though of course the translators took cognizance of the latter. Naturally, again, the Doway translators made their version in the literary English of their day; and, in spite of frequent revisions, our Catholic Bibles to-day keep many a word and turn of phrase that is no longer current English. This archaic English tends at times to obscure the sense for ordinary readers knowing only the language of their day.

The fourth distinctive feature of this translation, as I have said, is its "colometric" form—*i.e.* the text is broken up into what the author calls "sense-lines," each line being supposed to "crystallize just a single thought and no more." This is just the fashion of printing the sacred text adopted by Archbishop Goodier in his Life of Christ. It has undoubted advantages, such as that of directing attention to one thing at a time. But it seems at times to lead to discontinuity and jerkiness and to the loss of the unity of a thought while preserving the distinctness of its articulations, as though one were to consider a person limb by limb instead of as a living whole.

The qualities of the translation may best be gauged from a sample. I quote at random :—

> If a person wants to come and follow Me
> let him deny himself
> and take up his cross;
> that he may be a follower of Mine.
> For whoever wants to save his life
> must part with it in the end;
> but whoever parts with his life
> for My sake
> and for the sake of the Message of Salvation
> will save it in the end.
> Clearly, what good will it do a person
> to gain the whole world
> when his life is forfeited in any case?
> Or what can a man pay down as a price for his life?
> (Mark. VIII. 34).

If this be compared with the Doway Version it will be seen that they differ in tone and phrasing and that there are subtle differces even in the sense.

Two further matters may be referred to. The editorial and explanatory matter is ample and distinctly helpful, in particular the excellent chapter "Glimpses of Marcan Art." There is a useful list of books on p. 204, and the indexes are very full. Lastly the printing and the general turn-out of the book are all that could be desired.

S. J. B.

Biography

PROMENADES AVEC MOZART. L'homme, l'oeuvre, le pays. Par Henri Ghéon. Paris : Desclée De Brouwer. 1932. pp. 484.

Henri Gheon, whose work on behalf of Christian drama and the Christian stage is well known even outside the frontiers of his own country, has laid lovers of literature and music under obligation by his latest publication, *Promenades avec Mozart.* It is a beautiful book, exquisitely written and charmingly illustrated. It does not at all detract from its interest that, though it is confessedly a labour of love—M. Ghéon is an enthusiastic Mozartian—it is also a *roman à thèse.* He will not take it ill of me that I call his work (which has far more of the science of music in its substance than I could ever pretend to) a " roman." I do not mean to deny the historical truth of the characters, the accuracy of the facts, the wisdom of the conclusions. On the contrary. I merely wish to point out that M. Ghéon, having chosen his subject (an obvious case of predilection), employs all those gifts of imagination, taste, insight and creative vision which we demand from the storyteller. He likewise satisfies the scientific demands that we make on the modern novelist to trace hereditary tendencies, maternal influence, paternal training, and to indicate the part which environment and period play in the development of the man. Nothing could be more delicately poetic or give more delight in the reading than the successive pictures which he draws for us of St. Gilgen in Tyrol, the birthplace of Mozart's mother, of the church of St. Gilles in which she married Leopold Mozart, and of the boy musician's homelife in Salzburg.

On Salzburg, with which and with its festivals M. Ghéon is obviously intimate, he pours out an admiration and a love that must be second only to that which he cherishes for his own country. Indeed, M. Ghéon sees the Latin, if not the French, spirit everywhere in Austria, which he calls the most Romanized of Germanic territories. He describes Salzburg as a " Roman city," placed at the " crossroads " of Europe where North and South, Occident and Orient meet, where Germanism and Latinism converge. He continues this image of the crossroads and designates Mozart himself as a kind of " carrefour "—a European, with spirit and sense open to all the currents that flow through the civilised world (M. Ghéon would stress the " civilised "). He even uses of Mozart the word " dépaysé "—declimatized, detached, happily placed in what one might call the light of an

universal sun. The image is not wholly mine; for M. Ghéon constantly and most expressively uses the term "dorée" to describe Mozart's music.

The period, too—1756-1791—he justly stresses; and he is entitled in the case of this marvellous boy to begin in the fifties. For was he not barely five years old when he handed his first composition to his musician father, who took it with a smile, but read it with tears—both fitting symbols for the birth of genius? M. Ghéon does not weary us with any learned analysis of the Rococo age, but his art lets us vision a human world of light and laughter; a discreet, social world in a Watteau setting, in which any intrusion of the "moi" would be disturbing and out of place. It is a definitely eighteenth century world, before Rousseau broke in upon it so devastatingly. It is also a Catholic world, and the harmonies of that Catholicism are, as it were, the orchestration of M. Ghéon's Mozart melody.

M. Ghéon indicates the transition character of the art of that period, "a transition from the scholasticism of the old German and Italian masters to an art more frivolous, more social and more sensual; an art which nevertheless held within itself the germs of the emotional in the age that was to come. It was a period in which the symphony was being evolved and musical drama was being sought for, whilst even sacred song itself wavered between oratorio and opera." Though M. Ghéon does not specially stress the fact, it was also the age of patronage. That significant phenomenon emerges in his delineation of Mozart's career. We are given a hint of the role the Prince Bishops of Salzburg played in a social life of which art, musical or otherwise, was the indispensable *décor*, though the artist was little more than a body-servant! It is made clear to us that this social system is the framework of Mozart's life and that he accepted it—not without occasional questionings. Such questionings had, indeed, hardly begun in Mozart's day; even if they had, M. Ghéon would be quite right in thinking that Mozart would not have been especially vocal about them. He is too busy with his art to worry about his "Ego," and he puts aside his Prince Bishop's livery only when it definitely interferes with his work.

M. Ghéon shows us Mozart as essentially *the child*, on whom, too, the grace of Baptism has not been lost. He is gay, docile, controlled; he has a Christian feeling for order and proportion; he cherishes the old, while he intuitively evolves the new. He has a sense of poise and balance. Art is a "game"; it is play; it is, above all things, social, gay; "noblesse oblige." It does

not supply the place of religion. There is always God, even though His ministers and representatives have become, perhaps, a little impregnated with worldliness and liberalism ; there is always the Blessed Virgin, for whose coronation feast he will write the wonderful Mass, in which the social and the individual are blent. It is this " don de l'équilibre," this Catholic tempo, this gaiety, this naïveté that so obviously endear Mozart to his biographer. It is this harmony of his art or his nature, or of the fusion of both in the Catholic culture to which he belonged, that M. Ghéon persistently evokes in his account of Mozart as he moves—child, youth and man—on his wonderful musical adventures from Salzburg to Paris and London, Rome and Prague, Munich and Vienna. Many of his works are considered in the most careful detail, and M. Ghéon's interpretation is illustrated by characteristic passages from the respective scores of opera, symphony, Mass or sonata.

It is in this detailed consideration, no less than in the generalisations that open and close the volume, that I find everywhere what I call the " thèse " or " tendenciousness " of M. Ghéon's charming book. It might hardly be fair to call it a " plaidoyer," but it goes very near to being one. It is, when one examines it closely, a very old quarrel. Ancient or modern, classic or romantic, Latin or Germanic—which is to establish the ascendancy over the spirit ? M. Ghéon might change the terms ; he might say : natural or preternatural ; order or chaos ; finite or infinite ; limitation or licence. The fundamentals are the same. In this quarrel M. Ghéon is " on the side of the angels " with Mozart in a Latin world of law and order, of limitation and proportion, of finiteness and perfection. It is a world, he says himself, where art takes its proper place and does not arrogate to itself " une mission de salut et de direction auprès des hommes, qu'il ne tient pas de sa nature propre, qu'il ne peut assumer que par exception " : a world where the artist is not " Messias or prophet or priest, but a human being with a divine power to touch, to trouble and to appease the heart of man."

Throughout the whole book this world shows itself to M. Ghéon in the strongest contrast to that which was to follow it, and the supreme artist of this world appears in the same contrast to those who were to follow him—to Beethoven and, above all, to Wagner. They are the individualists, the romantics, the revolutionaries ; they have Rousseau in their blood and the old Germanic gods as well ; they are the boundary-breakers, the breathless ones ; they have forgotten

laughter; they are isolated from their fellows; brooding, proud, oppressed by their "mission"; hastily forging new means for their new ends; straining to breaking point the instruments already to their hands. With them "thought" invades the domain of music; with the later of the two, Wagner, philosophy and science also intrude; and M. Ghéon would keep all art, but especially music, for "heart's ease." He is, of course, absolutely aware that this book signed "Mozart" could be countersigned "Anti-Wagner"; indeed he does practically so countersign it and that in the opening chapter—the overture, as it were, to his theme. I should like to quote a passage from this chapter, but I have already written enough to give my readers some idea of M. Ghéon's most fascinating book—a "Mozart contre Wagner" play in which Mozart treads the boards, while Wagner, with Beethoven as a sort of immediate forerunner, lurks in the shadows of a future which is—it is M. Ghéon's description, not mine—a falsification of the Mozartian past. MARY M. MACKEN

GENSÉRIC: Roi des Vandales. Par E. F. Gautier. Paris: Payot.[1] 1932. 25 fr.

THE author of this readable, entertaining, and instructive little volume is a professor in the University of Algiers. He has written in French the sort of breezy, half-colloquial history-book that has in recent years been produced in quantities by English and especially American authors. A rather quaint example of this Anglo-Saxon journalistic style translated into French is his summing-up of the reasons for the Vandal invasion of Africa: "Ils ont été poussés en avant, pourrait-on dire, à coups de pied au derrière; ils se sont réfugiés dans l'héroïsme pour éviter la destruction." Another amusing verdict of the same type betrays its model: "L'Empire d' Occident est knock-out." Other faults more grave than those of style are usually present in this kind of history, and M. Gautier is not quite free of them. Thus he continuously uses the term "pentécontore" to describe a quinquereme, though in reality the two differed as did a Viking longship from, say, a seventeenth-century battleship.

Nevertheless everyone interested in Roman history will find this book well worth reading. In the first place its author brings to his subject a full knowledge of the North African background, and gives an excellent picture, not easily got anywhere else with-

[1] Messrs. Payot ask us to announce the English edition to be published shortly by MacBride & Co., 4 West 16th Street, New York.

out much labour, of the social and economic conditions of the Roman province at the time of the Vandal invasion. In the second place he uses the very best authorities, but does so with imagination and with a vigorous personal judgment. Thus the work of Rostovtzeff on the archaeological aspects of the barbarian invasions and the standard study of Gaiseric—to give the king his more customary name—by Ludwig Schmidt are combined with the results of French exploration in Africa itself to set the Vandals and their allies the Iranian Alans in a new light. A good deal of what M. Gautier has to say about the fall of the Roman Empire has been said already, for example, in the *Fin du Monde Antique* of M. Ferdinand Lot, to whom abundant acknowledgements are made. What M. Gautier does is to concentrate the results of the best recent general work into his study of a particular and very important problem—the meaning of the Vandal invasion and its effects.

He draws important distinctions, right at the beginning, between East and West Germans, showing that while the Goths and Vandals were in reality Scandinavian precursors of the Varangians, the Franks were simply a combination of the ancient inhabitants of the lands East of the Rhine. Next he elaborates the great influence on the organisation, armament, and tactics of the Goths and Vandals exercised by their Iranian neighbours on the steppe, the Alans and Sarmatae. From these they derived the elements which made them the first creators of the medieval armies of heavy cavalry, as well as the habit of aristocratic rule over subject peoples. The Alans remained always the allies of the Vandals—Gaiseric was *rex Vandalorum et Alanorum*—and M. Gautier shows strong reasons for thinking that the impotence of the Eastern Empire against them was due to the predominance of the Vandal Aspar at the crucial moment in the court of Constantinople. This is perhaps the most original part of his book. He emphasises the features that distinguished Gaiseric from the other German princes of the time—his rigorous Arian puritanism and his determination to cut clear of the Empire instead of remaining a federate. He shows the unique importance of Gaiseric's fleet, which made his war against Rome from Carthage into a veritable " fourth Punic War." He gives a vigorous sketch of St. Augustine and his work against the Donatists, but hardly allows enough for the fact that the Saint was seventy-five at the time of the invasion, and actually died before its success was sure. It is highly questionable whether Augustine should be credited with the same kind of primitive

Christian anti-militarism that was so prominent in Tertullian two centuries before his time.

Finally M. Gautier shows how, for all Gaiseric's genius, his effects on Africa were purely destructive. The Vandals owe their horrid reputation probably enough to Catholic propaganda against their very vigorous and aggressive Arianism. They were no more destructive in themselves than any other Germans; but in Africa at that particular juncture they crippled the Roman Empire of the West and destroyed all possibility that a strong native Christian power might have arisen in Africa, thus preventing the lapse into Islamic barbarism whose economic effects M. Gautier so vividly describes. M. T.

DOM COLUMBA MARMION. A Master of the Spiritual Life, 1858-1923. By Dom Raymond Thibaut. London: Sands. 1932. 15s. net.

PERE ADOLF PETIT, S.J., 1822-1914. By a Sister of Notre Dame de Namur. London: Sands. 1933. 3s. 6d.

THE author of *Dom Columba Marmion* tells us in his preface that it is not a biography in the modern sense of the word: "It is, in a biographical setting, an 'Essay' of which the essential end, at once more restricted and ambitious, is to find again in the documents themselves the bent of the spiritual ascent of one who has spoken so well of Christ's mysteries; to reveal at the same time the genesis, development and extent of his doctrine. To discover in the *life* of Dom Marmion the full import of his ascetical *work*: such, before all, has been our ambition." It is necessary to keep this fact in view when dealing with the book. It is addressed especially to those who are interested in psychological problems and ascetical questions.

There is, however, an interesting outline of the life of this Irishman who carried on the tradition of the ancient Irish monks who preached the Faith to Belgium in the past. Joseph Marmion was born in Dublin in 1858, and received all his school education at Belvedere College. From there, like so many of his schoolfellows, he entered Clonliffe with the intention of working in the Dublin Diocese. From Clonliffe he was sent by Dr. MacCabe to complete the last two years of theology at Rome, where he was ordained in 1881. On his way back to Dublin he paid a visit to the Benedictine Abbey of Maredsous, in Belgium, where no doubt the seeds of his future vocation were planted. On his return to Ireland he became curate in Dundrum; but the next year, 1882, saw him installed as Professor of Philosophy at Clonliffe. Had

he remained in the Dublin Diocese he would no doubt have become an additional member of that distinguished group of prelates who came from his old school. But he felt the call to religious life, and in 1886 was received as a novice in the Abbey of Maredsous. His subsequent life was naturally identified with his Order. He was successively Professor of Theology and Prior at Mont-César in Louvain, and in 1909 was elected Abbot of Maredsous, where he died in 1923.

Dom Marmion was a prolific writer of letters, notes and instructions, many of which have been made use of by the writer of this study. It is difficult to pick out typical passages from a collection of extracts ; we must refer those interested to the work itself. The life of Dom Marmion was not one of great diversity. His work as superior, director of religious communities, and in conducting retreats occupied all his time. His industry has erected a lasting monument to his zeal in his well-known works on the spiritual life. These works, written originally in French, have been translated into English. It must be a rare occurrence to find an author writing his works in a foreign language and then having them translated by another into his mother tongue ! In spite of the obvious drawbacks of this method of authorship, Dom Marmion's books have had a strong appeal and have been the source of profit to many. And we have no doubt that Dom Thibaut's study of this Master of the Spiritual Life will also prove a source of profit to many.

In strong contrast to this large volume of 500 pages is the little book about P. Adolf Petit, S.J., whose life-work was also in Belgium. The Benedictine Abbot was born when P. Petit was thirty-six years old, and survived him by nine years—the one reached sixty-five years, the other ninety-one. The life of P. Petit was very different from that of Dom Marmion. It was one of intense movement over every corner of Belgium and into other countries. There does not seem to have been any contact between the two men. The name of Dom Marmion does not occur in the very full index to the Life of P. Petit, and there is no index in the Life of Dom Marmion ; if the name of P. Petit is to be found in the latter Life, it has escaped the reviewer. P. Petit was perhaps the best known priest in Belgium ; he was here, there, and everywhere—occupied with all sorts of apostolic works. The two great works of his life were the promotion of closed retreats and the direction of the association known as *L'Union Sacerdotale.*

This little book is written in a very attractive style, and brings out the extraordinary simplicity of the spiritual life of P. Petit

Many examples are given of what appear to be supernatural events in his life. His "cause" has been brought forward, and there is reason to hope that one day he will be numbered amongst the Saints of God. His life was a busy one, and his work left him little leisure for writing. Yet he has left behind him books which have been highly valued: *Mon Navire, Sacerdos Rite Institutus*, and *Templum Spirituale Sacerdotis*. Possibly the most useful aspect of this book is the evidence it gives of the high degree of sanctity reached by lay men and women in every rank of life.

J. S.

Drama

MICHAELMAS EVE. A Play in three Acts. By T. C. Murray. London: Allen and Unwin. 1932. 3s. 6d. net.

A PLAY by T. C. Murray is always a pleasure either to read or to witness. Sometimes one has been able to enjoy both pleasures; but, so far, my experience in regard to *Michaelmas Eve* is limited to perusal. The play has responded well. True, the plot is simple enough, and the climax is, for the reader at any rate, somewhat feeble—even disappointing. The characters are, however, clearly and forcibly drawn; Mr. Murray's hand has lost none of its cunning in this direction. Moll Garvey, Hugh Kearns and his mother, and Mrs. Keating are all true to life. In particular Moll Garvey, the wild passionate girl whose lover throws her over for the well-off widow, is an excellent study. The dialogue is easy and, if it does not abound with the *Kiltartanesqueries* of Lady Gregory or the wonderful imagery of Synge, is, one feels, a true rendering of the idiomatic speech of the good folk of County Cork. The setting and the story are faithful to *Abbey* tradition. The almost inevitable kitchen dresser; the almost equally inevitable "tea" meal; and the no less inevitable sordid and even squalid motives are again presented to us. Human nature being what it is, we must accept on the stage studies of evil rather than noble conditions; nobody wants to be bored by virtue. Allowing this, there is still room for regret that the "persons in the play" at the *Abbey* seldom appear to have even the one redeeming merit that is usually allotted to villains.

The play moves along easily and interestingly to the *dénouement*, which, however, leaves one dissatisfied. This may of course have been the playwright's design; but the sudden remorse of the would-be poisoner Moll and her equally sudden recoil from perjury perplex and, it is to be feared, disappoint. Without being altogether so Victorian and simple-minded as to expect

to see wrong-doing punished before the finale, there seems a certain lameness in Mr. Murray's inconclusive conclusion. "The curtain falls slowly"; so reads the final stage direction. It does, indeed. W. D.

THE COMING OF THE MAGI. By Padraic Gregory. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1932. 3s. 6d. net.

His Eminence Cardinal MacRory has honoured Mr. Gregory by writing an Introduction to his sacred drama of the Epiphany. It is a short play in four Acts with a prologue. In the course of his remarks His Eminence makes reference to the revival of religious drama which has come about, and for which in Ireland Father Gaffney, O.P., is largely to be thanked. The Cardinal is of opinion that Mr. Gregory's play will give a stimulus to that revival.

There is a certain lack of incident in *The Coming of the Magi.* The blank verse in which it is written has a sweep and dignity, and there are some sonorous passages in the speeches which Herod has to deliver. But, as not seldom happens in the blank verse of even more widely known dramatists than Mr. Gregory, there is an occasional redundancy, and the flowery images now and then tend to pall. Memories are revived of the *Herod* of Stephen Phillips, in which Sir Herbert Tree played the title-part thirty odd years ago. Wilde's play *Salome* dealing with the son of Herod the Great, the tetrarch who caused the death of St. John the Baptist, is also brought to mind.

The Magi themselves are rather long-winded, and the scene in which Herod receives them might be made to move more rapidly. Cruel and crafty, Herod is the outstanding character in the play and grips the reader's attention so surely that one can imagine how the part would prove in the hands of a capable actor. The Cardinal expresses a desire in his introduction that the play "may be performed widely and meet with the success that it deserves." Readers will, one feels confident, share the Cardinal's hopes.

W. D.

Economics and Politics

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA. By Lancelot Lawton. London: Macmillan. 1932. 629 pp. 2 vols. 25s.

This is the most comprehensive analysis of Soviet economy that I have seen. It is written by one who has had a long and intimate acquaintance with Russian affairs. The book is superior to the

usual survey of Sovietland in the fact alone that it gives a detailed perspective right back to the Revolution of 1917. The phases of Workers' Control, War Communism, the New Economic Policy, the Five-Year Plan and Collectivised Agriculture receive exhaustive treatment. Surprisingly enough the writer makes practically no reference to the extraordinarily important weapon of propaganda and the special development of its technique by the Bolshevists. A minor but irritating defect in his *History* is that of translating prices, wages, etc. into sterling at the pre-war rate of exchange. If a Soviet labourer gets 100 roubles per month or if a commodity price is 20 roubles, these figures are not equivalent to £10 and £2 respectively, but considerably less. Again, where the author refers to, for instance, salaries of professors being 200 pre-war roubles per month, he presumably means present-day roubles. Why then "pre-war"? On account of the writer's competence and authority it will be of interest to quote from his final summing-up :—

"As early as the middle of the nineteenth century Marx and others . . . . noted that capitalism, in its struggle to overcome the evils of its own creation, was forming large groups or trusts and resorting to increased mechanisation. Since that time, under the name of rationalisation, both trustification and mechanisation have made marked progress. Bolshevism has striven to enlarge these processes, to carry them to their logical conclusion. The result is the organisation of the State as a trust of trusts. The object which it is sought to attain is precisely the same as that which capitalism has always had in view—to create abundance in response to limitless desire. Capitalism has succeeded in creating an abundance of goods, but not an equal abundance of the power to acquire them . . . . Bolshevism has created an abundance, but not as yet of those commodities necessary for existence in comfort . . . . Both systems pursue identical aims by methods which have something in common, but neither has come anywhere near achievement. . . . It is clear that both so-called systems are built upon a false basis in that they deprive the majority of human beings of true self-respect and rob them of the joy and pride of self-creative activity . . . . It is not surprising that in Soviet Russia evidences should be visible of the emergence of a society whose tastes and desires are those of the bourgeoisie of the capitalist West . . . . Leadership has been seized by young, vigorous, pushful, half-educated young men who thirst for all the material joys that life can give . . . . . These masses understand materialism as it is understood in the

West, as the full and indiscriminate satisfaction of desire . . . . The heroic days of the Revolution are over."

Here we have a penetrating but incomplete comment. The writer points out that Communism, like Capitalism, is built on a false basis. He does not, however, define the falsity except in a vague way. Still less does he indicate the true basis. We have the explanation in the fact that his own discussion is also confined to rationalist and materialist issues. To me Lenin appears convincing when he holds that rationalism must lead logically to positive atheism and Communism. The real issue in the world to-day is rationalism *versus* revelation. Revelation leaves so deep an imprint on our attitude to material affairs that beyond doubt it provides an alternative to Communism. Mr. Lawton has not indicated any alternative on the rationalist basis.

JOHN BUSTEED

CAPITALISM AND COMMUNISM. A Reconciliation. By Oscar Newfang. New York and London: Putnam. 1932. Pp. xviii + 278.

THIS book contains an examination on conventional lines of the arguments for and against the types of social organization roughly described as Capitalist and Communist, respectively. The points of resemblance between the two systems are indicated as well as the points of difference, and the suggestion is made that each should attempt to imitate what is best in the other. The present wage system in Capitalist countries should, it is proposed, be abandoned in favour of an arrangement under which capital would receive a determinate rate of reward, while labour would enjoy the surplus income derived from production. The Communist countries, for their part, should (it is suggested) reorganize their wage system on what appear to be purely Capitalist lines, but any inequality of distribution that might arise in consequence should be neutralized by progressive taxation on incomes, inheritance and gifts. When these changes are accomplished, a pact should be concluded between the League of Nations and Soviet Russia to enable the reformed Capitalist and Communist systems to function freely, without interference from each other, and thus demonstrate to the world which type of society is best fitted to maximize the welfare of mankind. The whole discussion is conducted in terms of the highest idealism, and the practical difficulties and detailed application of the revolutionary proposals advanced are apparently beneath the notice of the author.

G. O'B.

THE UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD. By Oscar Newfang. New York and London: Putnam. 1930. $2.

MR. NEWFANG'S book is an essay both in political criticism and in political reconstruction. It is a criticism of the League of Nations from the viewpoint of its efficiency to accomplish the purpose it professes; at the same time it sets forth a plan whereby the defects that impair its effectiveness may be removed.

Briefly, this plan is the development of the League into an actual federation of states—to make, in fact, a reality of the poet's dream of a parliament of man and a confederation of the world. For Mr. Newfang the path to the realisation of this ideal is a plain and easy one. The model—the American Union—is already there and working effectually. This argument seems to suffer from all the weaknesses that are inherent in analogical reasoning of this type. There is no difficulty in accumulating points of agreement to support the thesis, whereas it is the points of difference that constitute the important factors in the problem.

As a historical review of the U. S. Constitution at work, much of this book makes interesting and profitable reading. The history of the growth and development of such a great machine of government cannot fail to stimulate the interest of the thoughtful reader. But it is quite another matter to look in that history for the plan for a political building that must belong to another order of architecture. Whatever be the truth of Mr. Newfang's contention that the different states of the Union are as jealous of their rights and as assertive of their interests as are the states of the world, it is not so apparent that the political machinery effective for the one will prove effective for the other.

The chapters in which the writer considers the weaknesses of the League of Nations as an instrument of effectual international action are a good antidote to the facile optimism of the oratory all too common at meetings of League of Nations societies. A great deal of the political energy devoted to the nebulous cosmopolitanism staged at Geneva would be more usefully employed in the solution of domestic problems. The organisation has now enjoyed a life of some twelve years. Can any one truthfully maintain that it is adequate to its professed purpose? The economic rivalries that prevail between different members of the League—and in these lie the surest roots of war—proceed despite the peace sentiment expressed in pacts and conferences. It is useless to try to forbid the effect while permitting and even fostering the cause. And it is, to say the least, doubtful that the League *can* forbid the effect. In the Rhodes Memorial lecture

delivered at Oxford in 1930, M. Elie Halévy pertinently asks: "How many millions, hundreds of thousands, thousands, hundreds —would even a hundred be willing to die for the League of Nations"? And until there is this readiness manifested, until the fanaticism of humanity is there to counteract the fanaticism of nationality, it does not seem likely that Genevan diplomacy will be anything more than an ineffectual beating of wings.

W. J. W.

Education

THE YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION: 1933. Editor-in-Chief: Lord Eustace Percy, M.P. London: Evans and Co. 1933. Pp. 960. 35s.

THE second issue of this very elaborate Year Book is a distinct advance on the first. There is less of obvious avoidance of topics of controversial moment, a fact which is admitted at the outset. Statistical information is made more orderly, compact, specific. The half-veiled official writer is no longer so dominant in the treatment of British educational administration, wherein he certainly was allowed to utilise his opportunity for advocating bureaucratic ideas, as against even Governments and Legislatures, over many pages of the first issue, one year ago. Special articles are now provided in goodly number from independent writers, for both English problems and those of English Dominions; and the advance thus made does much to make this volume highly readable. It is still too bulky, too much like an over-elaborated City Directory. It would gain greatly were all writers taught to denude their articles of accessory allusions and of verbal attempts to circumvent the thin ice of educational administration.

Catholic readers will find, at intervals, numerous passages of interest. Thus the relative standards of culture and of educational systems, as between French and English Canada, are outlined with frankness; and the writer, relying on the independent views of M. André Siegfried, inclines to hold that the classical traditions of Quebec easily prevail over those of Ontario and Ontario's train. The treatment of Malta is candid and helpful throughout; and if Scotland is less well presented from the Catholic point of view, this is because the material is dispersed. The Catholic, the Anglican, and the Free Church positions are set out, as regards the place of Religion in Education, in three sections. The vital explanations of the Anglican view and of the Nonconformist frame of mind lie in the legal history of education in England ever since the time of Elizabeth; they should have been made the basis of two of these articles.

The Catholic position is treated by Father Drinkwater in a sequence of topics rather casual and diffuse in their presentation. Cardinal Bourne introduces them in two paragraphs, which make one wish that his Eminence's masterly pamphlets and addresses on this issue, so well put in every phrase, had here been summarised as a statement of Catholic doctrine and practical policy, no less than of civic and domestic rights. One cannot but regret that, both as regards the Catholic tradition of catechetical instruction and as concerns the services of Catholic teachers in the work of Catholic Religious Training, the views expressed on pages 379-380 were not entirely excised. They represent only one small group of critics, and have no future. Many of the tenets there stated are dubious as either History or Education; this detracts much from the value of the entire text. T. C.

THE POOR STUDENT AND THE UNIVERSITY. By L. D. Whiteley. Introduction by Percy Alden. London: Allen and Unwin. 1933. Pp. 159. 6s. net.

LIMITED though they are to England and Wales, the well-documented contents of this volume will prove highly serviceable to all who are concerned with the public administration of education, as well as to the distinct group of students interested in the sociology of Great Britain. The examination of the student population of the twelve or thirteen Universities of England and Wales is done on fresh lines, and presents many arresting facts. Faculty populations, honours and pass degrees, scholarship provisions and the destination of scholarships here have substantial exposition, not unaccompanied by candid yet restrained comment on policies, or on the absence of policy, manifested by the Universities, by the State, by Local Authorities.

There is no marked intrusion of general impressions by the writer, who works at the direction of the Stapley Educational Trust. Quite the contrary: the actual figures are given in good quantity, and their background is as a rule suitably stated in addition. The peculiar position of what may be called the stratigraphy of English education whereby two very wealthy universities have succeeded in securing academic dominance over the rest, and wherein an undefined collection of institutions run for private and professional profit, called public schools but not in any way whatever public, assert their social separateness from secondary schools, are in many ways put in evidence.

Naturally, a good deal of the text turns on details of scholar-

ship schemes and facilities, useful to the aspirant student and to the aspirant teacher more than to other students. But a large portion of Miss Whiteley's concise statements are of wide general interest, and supply a want not yet met even by the elaborated masses of the Year Books of Education (for Great Britain, 1932-33) or even by the Columbia University Year Books.

T. C.

History

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN ENGLAND FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION TO THE DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH. By W. K. Jordan, Ph.D., Instructor in History and Tutor in the Division of History, Government and Economics in Harvard University. London: Allen and Unwin. 1932. pp. 490. 21s. net.

The history of toleration raises problems the solution of which demands a competent knowledge of history, philosophy and morality. Judging by the present work we feel Dr. Jordan's acquaintance with these sciences leaves much to be desired. His philosophical principles are uncertain and his moral considerations capricious. He is not unsatisfactory in the work of collecting pleas for toleration from the literature of the period, but his view of the general history of those times is distorted and partial. Many of the tracts quoted are of extreme rarity, and those only who have access to great public libraries are able to check the excerpts. The original language of many of them is Latin, but the numerous misprints in the passages quoted betokens either negligent proof-reading or unfamiliarity with that language. Dr. Jordan, however, seems to have executed the mechanical portion of his task conscientiously, and so has conferred a boon on students by gathering together this series of extracts from the writings of such diverse characters as Browne, Harrison, Barrowe, Castellion, Ochino, Acontius, Allen, Persons, etc.

It will not be without a feeling of surprise that the reader will learn of the association of the idea of toleration with the reign of Queen Elizabeth of England. Her own sentiments were decidedly adverse to toleration. Even Dr. Jordan has to admit that "in signing the writ for the execution of the two heretics, she gave expression to the familiar sentiments 'that she was head of the church, that it was her duty to extirpate error, and that heretics ought to be cut off from the flock of Christ that they may not corrupt others'" (p. 182). She began her reign with legislation that was

the very antithesis of toleration, legislation that enforced the acknowledgment of her spiritual supremacy under the severest penalties, legislation indeed that has set the headline for all subsequent religious persecution down to the present time. It is rather late in the day for Dr. Jordan to come along and pretend that there was no religious persecution in the first decade of her reign. The penalization of the adherents of the ancestral religion, the imprisonment of the Catholic episcopate, the deposition and banishment of prominent ecclesiastics and learned university professors belie his contention. The second half of her reign was marked by brutal torture and rackings, barbarous hangings and disembowellings, and it is not perhaps without significance that in the otherwise exhaustive index to this book the word *torture* is not to be found. Finally, it is notorious that in the last proclamation she issued a few months before her death, she called God to witness that she was innocent of any intention of granting toleration for two religions in her realms.

In any discussion of the problem of toleration a clear definition of what the writer understands by the term is a primary requisite. Dr. Jordan therefore rightly devotes his first chapter to a study of the scope of the problem. Proceeding according to his usual plan, he gathers together the opinions of various writers; but his own views remain obscure, for it is very often hard to decide whether he is summarizing the opinions of others or propounding his own. He seems to accept the following definition: "In its legal application the word toleration signifies simply a refraining from persecution. It suggests at least latent disapproval of the belief or practice which is tolerated, and refers to a somewhat limited and conditioned freedom. . . In its very nature, however, it disapproves, if it does not disallow, the point of view tolerated" (p. 17). He also distinguishes toleration and scepticism: "It cannot be denied that scepticism and indifference have been powerful agents in weakening the theory and practice of persecution; but it is an error to say that the indifferent man can be tolerant of a religious belief, he is simply indifferent to it" (p. 15). Both definition and distinction may be accepted, but the reader will soon notice that the author does not always adhere to them, a fact which renders his thought confused and sometimes contradictory. The application, for instance, of the distinction is not consistently carried out. Among the representations of lay thought favourable to toleration in the sixteenth century, none ranks so high in Dr. Jordan's estimation as Acontius: "The sixteenth century did not afford a more comprehensive and tolerant view

of religion than that sketched by Acontius " (p. 341) : he " ranks first among the thinkers who displayed this tolerant tendency in the sixteenth century " (p. 330). Yet in this very connection Acontius's theory is described as " the denial of the possibility of attaining a doctrinal system which embodied absolute truth " (p. 330). What is this but scepticism ? Nor does the scepticism cease when Acontius goes on, rather illogically, " to simplify the body of truth which must be received in order to attain salvation " (p. 334) while disclaiming at the same time any desire to impose this or any other confession upon the church (p. 341).

Dr. Jordan's mistakes in the estimate he forms of the general history of the period are due partly to inherited prejudices and partly to an ill-concealed desire to make out a case for the Elizabethan persecutors. We are told, for example, in a rather badly formed sentence that " the [Protestant] reformers, like the Church they parted from, cared nothing for freedom : they cared only for truth " (p. 31). That these innovators cared nothing for freedom can easily be conceded ; but that they cared only for truth is an utterly unfounded assertion. Even in their own day the frauds and falsifications of the Magdeburg Centuriators and their English copyists were triumphantly exposed by Catholic scholars, whose arguments have been confirmed by modern research. Again, the government (Dr. Jordan has discovered) was forced to intensify the persecution in 1570 " in consequence of the decision of the Papacy actively to assist the Jesuit programme for the conversion of England " (p. 112). But there was no Jesuit programme for the conversion of England in 1570, nor any Jesuits in England then or for a decade later. Such facts, however, do not disturb Dr. Jordan, who calmly tells us that it was " the endless plots and efforts of the Jesuits " that compelled the Queen " to control her rebellious subjects " (p. 113). Equally unchronological is the following statement : " The Church, as late as 1571, was not seriously averse to the practice of occasional conformity. In that year the Bishop of Quadra [so the author calls Bishop de Quadra] excused the English Catholics from attending the required services on the grounds that the Book of Common Prayer contained no false doctrines, and that it was consistent with the Bible " (p. 112, n. 4). Now, Bishop de Quadra, who died in 1563, could not have written a letter in 1571. Moreover the practice of occasional conformity had been already twice condemned in 1562, first by a commission of Tridentine Theologians in August and secondly by the Holy Office in the October of that year.

To justify or at least disguise the intolerance of the English government Dr. Jordan writes: "Had the English Catholics been left to themselves, it is possible that the practice of occasional conformity would have continued to satisfy the requirements of the State and that Catholic repression might have been avoided" (p. 114); that Catholics, if they only "recognised in full the supremacy and legality of the Crown, might hope for some measure of freedom of worship" (p. 204), for "the government demanded only formal obedience to the laws of religion" (p. 234). Surely this is trifling with a serious problem. If Catholics gave up their faith and became Protestants, they would of course have escaped persecution; but what are we to think of the mentality of a man who uses that argument to prove how tolerant the persecutors were?

That moderation in religious repression was the distinguishing feature of Elizabeth's government is the *idêe fixe* of Dr. Jordan. He never tires of repeating it, and indeed it may be said to be the main thesis of the book. His great authority is, of course, Burleigh's *Execution of Justice in England*. While the contrary arguments of others are criticized and minimized, Burleigh's sophistries are all swallowed with avidity. Indeed he goes further than Burleigh himself, for this statesman admits that for him toleration was measured by the danger of rebellion and civil war. This is the most disappointing feature of Dr. Jordan's work. One misses here altogether the trenchant criticism and righteous indignation of Hallam, who, dealing with Burleigh's arguments, says: "Such miserable excuses serve only to mingle contempt with our detestation"; and again, in words that apply perfectly to the present case: "It is much to be regretted that any writers worthy of respect should, either through undue prejudices against an adverse religion or through timid acquiescence in whatever has been enacted, have offered for this odious code the false pretext of political necessity. That necessity, I am persuaded, can never be made out: the statutes were, in many instances, absolutely unjust; in others not demanded by the circumstances; in almost all, prompted by religious bigotry, by excessive apprehension, or by the arbitrary spirit with which our government was administered under Elizabeth." But such considerations leave Dr. Jordan unmoved. He does not even hesitate to say that "the recusancy laws were administered with surprising equity" (p. 235), evidently because, as he says, "the government had no intention of forcibly exterminating Roman Catholicism in England" (p. 234).

It would be unfair to judge the sentiments of a university by the writings of a single professor, but on reading this book we are forced to believe that the theory of religious toleration now taught at Harvard is far behind that proclaimed by English scholars a hundred years ago. As a repertoire of texts on toleration, inaccessible to ordinary students, Dr. Jordan's book will be useful; but as an *apologia* for Elizabeth and Burleigh it is a failure, and hence the claim advanced for it, that it is based on a thorough grasp of contemporary material and constitutes the first exhaustive and definitive discussion of this important subject, must be unconditionally rejected. JOHN MACERLEAN.

A HISTORY OF THE GEORGIAN PEOPLE. By W. E. D. Allen. London: Kegan Paul. 1932. 31s. 6d. net.

THE small and little-known country of Georgia now forms part of the Union of Soviet Republics; one of its sons, Joseph Dhugashvili, under the half-German name of Stalin, is the all-powerful Secretary of the Communist Party, and another, Orjonikidze, has been among the principal Bolshevik leaders. Lying between the Caucasus and the highlands of Armenia, Georgia has always been a mountain march-land. On the East it is washed by the Caspian, and is open to invasion, cultural and military, from Iran and further Asia. On the West its Black Sea coastline is the ancient Colchis, where the early Greeks went searching for the Golden Fleece. It is divided into an eastern and a western part by the Caucasus; but through this apparently formidable barrier runs a gap, the Dar-i-Alan ("Gate of the Alans"), which has always been a passage for the many races and powers that in turn have occupied the northen steppe and the plateau of Asia Minor. All the races that have passed through its doorways of sea and mountain have left deposits of themselves behind; yet its people have always remained the same Alpine or Armenoid stock, original possessors of the Hebrew nose.

This splendidly-produced and richly-illustrated book is the first English work of any magnitude to be devoted to a very interesting country and people. It has a brief introduction by the well-known Orientalist, Sir E. Denison Ross, and its author, besides living in the country itself, has mastered an extensive literature, especially in Russian, on every phase of its history, art, literature, and sociology. His bibliographies are full and up-to-date, and he provides a useful series of maps in which plenitude of detail is the only fault. About a third of the book is descriptive, the rest historical. Georgian history, like that of

all march-lands, is colourful, confused, and only to be fully understood when considered in a wide perspective. Romans and Parthians, Byzantines and Persians, Turks and Mongols, Russians and once more Persians, have struggled to possess its mountain fortresses, and have generally divided their possession. In the intervals between the fall of one empire and the rise of another, native Georgian rulers have managed to establish themselves in its fastnesses, and have maintained through the ages an astonishingly tenacious hold. One particular family, itself apparently half-Armenian, ruled over some part of the country with long periods of great power and prosperity from about the ninth century to the beginning of the nineteenth—the family of the Bagrationi, which in modern times provided the Russian army with distinguished generals. To this family belong most of the great figures in Georgian history, from David II, "the Restorer," who established a powerful monarchy after the collapse of Byzantine fortunes in the late eleventh century, through the almost legendary Queen Tamara at the end of the twelfth, and the epic Simon, surnamed the Mad, in the sixteenth, to Irakli, "l'invincible Hercule" as Frederick the Great called him, the last glory of Georgian independence in the eighteenth.

Mr. Allen's subject obviously lends itself to colourful treatment, and it is to be regretted that the author has sometimes sacrificed other virtues to the kaleidoscopic. He wastes a good deal of space on superficial generalities, searches too far for parallels that turn out to be irrelevant, and strains his language itself in order to strike more forcibly the imaginations of his readers. Thus his early chapters are too long and too vague, his middle chapters too much a catalogue of names necessarily unintelligible, and his last chapters vague once more. In his account of Georgian origins he talks a great deal about "swarming" peoples, about totemism, matriarchy, and the survival of paganism in Christian disguises, but the whole effect is rather to confuse than to enlighten. It is a misfortune that he has chosen to follow the fantastic "Japhetic" theories of Marr, which have no solid scientific basis and are not taken seriously by linguists generally as accounting for the manifold difficulties raised by the Caucasian languages. The works of Dirr and Trubetskoi, which he lists in his bibliography, would have been safer if less adventurous guides, and would have spared him the writing of many over-atmospheric pages. His parallels between medieval Georgia and medieval France or England are bound to strike the educated reader as far-fetched. Probably the most interesting part of his

work will remain the chapters on Georgian art and literature, though here again we miss a full account of the treasures of medieval Ani, long the home of the Bagratid kings and a subject which arouses the enthusiasm of Byzantine connoisseurs. The book is on the whole so good and is so well-produced that we must regret it was not better done. M. T.

FRANCE AND GERMANY. By Professor Johannes Haller. London: Constable. 1932. 7s. 6d. net.

Professor Haller's book is a study of the bearings, on the peace of Europe, of the relations between France and Germany as they have existed for more than one thousand years. The conclusion to which his survey leads is, not unnaturally, on the side of his own country, and for this reason it might appear that his book is of no greater importance than the average propagandist pamphlet made so familiar to us by the cataclysm of 1914 and its aftermath.

Such a judgment, however, would be erroneous and profoundly unfair to the writer, who though a good German is no less a good historian. His views are at every step in his argument based firmly on the facts of history; and even when they may seem to be somewhat coloured by national bias, they are not unreasonable or unfair. Indeed, it is only when his argument comes to deal with the events of the most recent period or those immediately leading up to that period, that a fair-minded critic can say there is any suspicion of partial treatment.

Professor Haller's survey starts from the Treaty of Verdun, which on dividing the Empire of Charlemagne brought into being the territorial entities that were to become France and Germany, and which thereby sowed the seeds of so much future European strife. From the very beginning the divergent aims and interests of the two regions of the sundered Empire bred hostility, so that it seems that even in those far-off days there existed between them a natural discord and rivalry—*quasi naturalis invidia*, an expression that dates from the days of Godfrey de Bouillon.

This inborn aversion has persisted all through the history of these two peoples, and at sundry times has flamed into wars that gravely injured in earlier periods European peace and civilisation, and in later periods menaced and continues to menace the peace and order of the world.

Professor Haller's treatment of the Franco-German question, down at least to the fall of the first French Empire, seems to agree with the common judgment of historians. His role here is that

of recorder not of advocate. Even where he discusses the aims and achievements of the great French nation-builders, of Henry IV, Richelieu, Louis XIV, his pages are thoroughly objective in tone. The efforts to secure for France security, expansion, hegemony in Europe are taken as a matter of course, and the fact that those aims could only be secured for the most part at the cost of the depression of Germany does not influence his judgment as a historian.

The present, however, is the child of what has been, and the triumphs of France in the secular quarrel with Germany produced their full result in the last century. French militarism, the arm of French diplomacy, after the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period was not the mighty force it had been. France was now confronted by a Germany that was able to exact the payment of a debt a thousand years old, and exact it she did, and who will say that she was not justified ? Certainly it does not seem that so far Professor Haller has let his national sympathies interfere with his judgment as a historian.

The story of Franco-German relations from 1870 naturally does not offer so clear a field for impartial history-writing. Nevertheless, we venture to say that even here Professor Haller is in the main impartial. History has, at least since 1914, been perverted for the purposes of propaganda, and it is all for the good of the peace of the world that the story of the relations of France and Germany in the last sixty years should be set forth in clear light. For over a decade now the diplomatic talent of the world has been labouring in the cause of world peace. This cannot be accomplished by diplomatic juggling. The causes of failure are dependent on the facts of history, and the study of those facts is a necessary preliminary to the change of outlook that is indispensable to a lasting settlement of what has long been a world-problem. Books such as Professor Haller's have their place in bringing about this change of outlook ; for they are meant not for the professional student of history, but for the average citizen, and in the end it is he who must count in the final settlement.

W. J. W.

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Agius, Ambrose. The Better Part. A Lourdes Play. (Washbourne & Bogan, 6d.).

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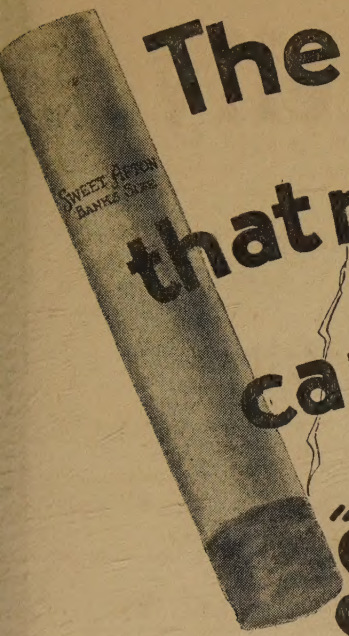

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